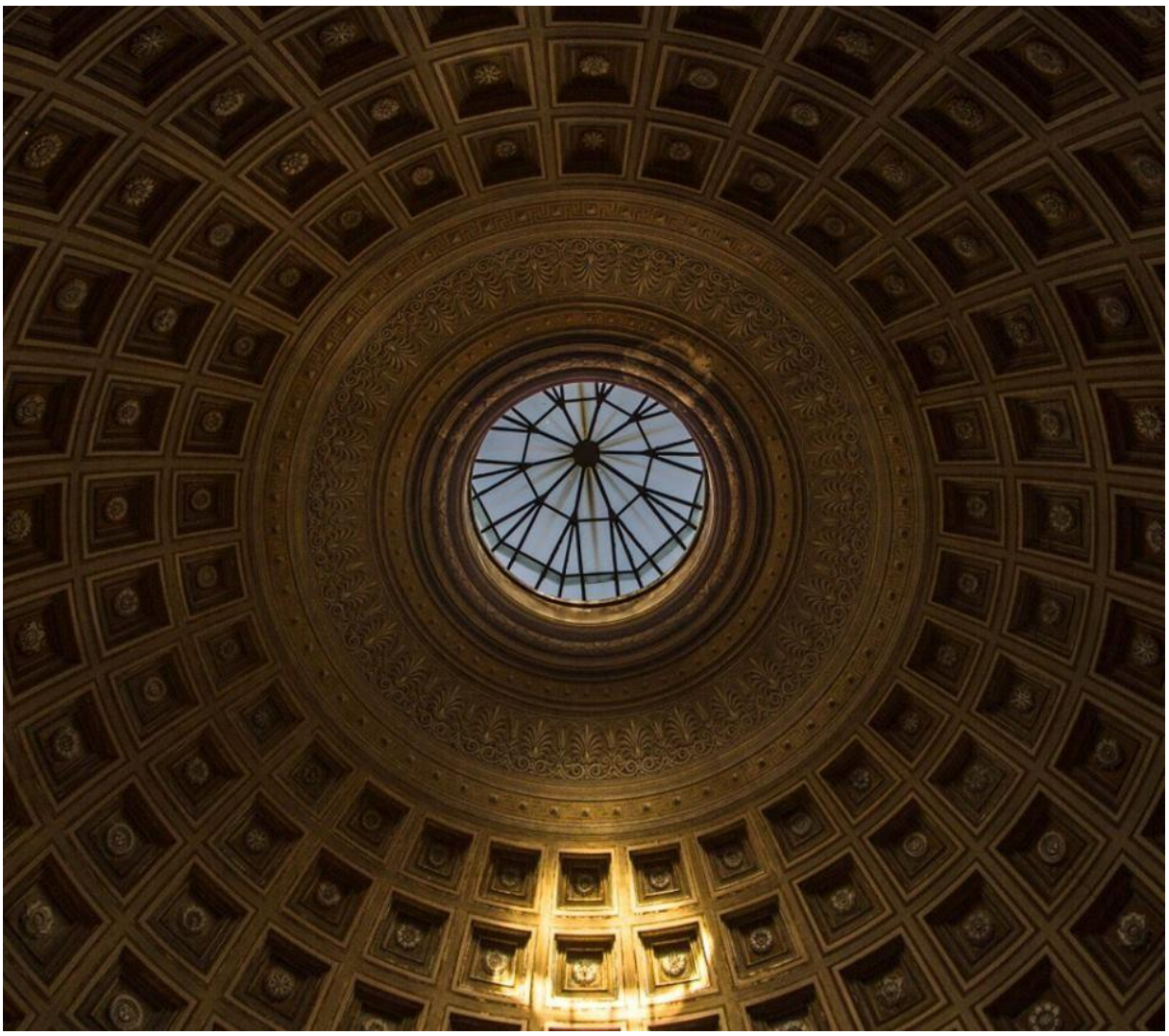


INTERDISCIPLINARITY OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES: INTERACTION OF CULTURE, HISTORY, RELIGION

IRF Press

INTERDISCIPLINARITY OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES: INTERACTION OF CULTURE, HISTORY, RELIGION

INTERDISCIPLINARITY OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES: INTERACTION OF CULTURE, HISTORY, RELIGION

edited by
Tarik Ziyad Gulcu

IRF Press
Warsaw 2017

Copyright © 2017 by IRF Press

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

Interdisciplinarity of Religious Studies: Interaction of Culture, History, Religion
Edited by: Tarik Ziyad Gulcu

ISBN 978-83-949577-0-4

IRF Press
Fundacja “Interdisciplinary Research Foundation”
Al. Jerozolimskie, 85/21
02-001 Warsaw, Poland
www.irf-network.org
info@irf-network.org

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....8

CARL GUSTAV JUNG AND PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION
Seyed Yasin Hosseini.....11

CHRISTIANIZATION OF GEORGIA IN GEORGIAN FOLKLORE AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS
Nino Ghambashidze 21

“A GENDER TRANSCENDENCE” THE WOMAN IN JOHN CHRYSOSTOM’S EPISTLES TO WOMEN
Lamprini Papadimitriou 29

“DRUNKEN DEEP/OF ALL THE BLESSEDNESS OF SLEEP”: GERALDINE THE TEMPTRESS
Tarik Ziyad Gulcu 41

HINDI LITERARY APPROACHES TO THE RELIGIOUS BHAKTI CURRICULUM IN INDIA AND ABROAD
Vijayakumaran.C.P.V. 54

PITFALLS AND PEARLS OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES AT RUSSIAN SCHOOLS
Kamila Gainulina and Yulia Sergaeva 71

ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS OF EGYPT AND EGYPTIAN LEADERSHIP (XX BEGINNING OF XXI CENTURIES)
Vladlen Makoukh.....83

RELIGION AND SECESSIONISM IN NORTH-EAST INDIA IN CONTEXT OF PEACE, CONFLICT AND NATION-FORMING
Jacek Skup.....94

POST-MODERN ETHICS IN RELIGION: THE CONFLICT OF ETHICS IN INDIAN RELIGION
Trishna P. Lekharu and E. R. Tongper 103

INTRODUCTION

In addition to his characteristics such as eating, drinking, sleeping and reproduction, man has also reason and spirituality. This accounts for his distinction from animals and plants in the nature. Reasoning enables human beings to question and discover his environment. Man's curiosity regarding the order and system in the nature reinforces his efforts to find out its creator. Various answers to the creator of the nature have established the basis of the concept "religion". Religion not only enables the individuals to discover the creator, but it also offers an insight regarding the meaning of life in the world. Therefore, it is not wrong to argue that religion has individual, social and cultural aspects. Hence, this book aims to elaborate on the concept of "religion" in relation to these aspects from a variety of scholarly perspectives.

Man's effort to make his life meaningful with the discovery of God can be linked with human psychology. So, the issue of religion invites discussion in terms of psychoanalytical approach. Rather than Freud's point of view, Carl Gustave Jung's theory of archetype contributes more to the appreciation of religion as a term. At this point, Seyed Yasin Hosseini's chapter entitled "Carl Gustav Jung and Psychology of Religion" enables readers to discover the impact of religion on the individuality of a person. In this chapter, Hosseini argues that the archetype of God is formulated in human psyche by collective unconscious. His argument indicates that the personal choice of belief in a religion is determined by the norms of the society to which an individual belongs. Thus, while the chapter mainly deals with the personal aspect of religion, its approach based on Jungian psychoanalysis implies the social aspect of religion as well.

Literature is one of the best means to reflect the impact of religion on social life. Particularly, before the proliferation of written works in literary history, the legends and folkloric tales contributed to the establishment of religious identities of societies. Nino Gahmbashidze's chapter "Christianisation of Georgia in Georgian Folklore and Religious Beliefs" can be considered as an epitome of this argument. In her chapter, Ghambashidze focuses on the emergence and popularity of Christianity in Georgia and argues that the religious occasions as reaction against paganism are still celebrated as festivals. Therefore, Ghambashidze's paper indicates the long-lasting effects of oral literature on the establishment of Georgian religious identity.

In addition to anonymous works, written literature also shapes the religious identities of the societies. Moreover, the literary works can function as a guide for the people in terms of religious beliefs. At this point, Lamprini Papadimitriou's chapter "A Gender Transcendence: The Woman in John Chrysostom's Epistles to Women" is a work that focuses on religious outlook on women in social area. In her paper, Papadimitriou deals with one of the major Church Fathers, John Chrysostom and his homilies, i.e. epistles to women. His letters to women help readers to appreciate the religious outlook on gender issue. Papadimitriou indicates Chrysostom's sensitivity to female discrimination in social area with reference to his epistles as well as biblical

verses. Thus, her chapter embodies the social dimension of the concept "religion" in the words of the Bible and the Church Father St. John Chrysostom.

Different from Lamprini Papadimitriou, Tarik Ziyad Gulcu's chapter "'Drunken Deep/Of All the Blessedness of Sleep': Geraldine the Temptress" focuses on British Romantic literature in relation to its function as a guide for people in religious context. In his chapter, Gulcu focuses on Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem "Christabel" as a warning for people about their tendency to commit vices and follies, which cause their fall. In the chapter, Coleridge's combination of vampire as an element of Gothic literature with the Miltonic account of "Original Sin" is judged as an innovative approach to the appreciation of the effects of religious beliefs on people and societies.

Whereas Gulcu's work deals with English literature to indicate the impact of religion on social life, Vijayakumaran CPV's chapter "Hindi Literary Approaches to the Religious Bhakti Curriculum in India and Abroad" elaborates on the same issue with regard to the Hindi Bhakti literature. The historical survey of Bhakti literature from the medieval period to the contemporary age presents readers an insight regarding the impact of literature on the Oriental societies. CPV's paper not only focuses on the significance of literature in social area, but it also deals with the effects of religious identity on the field of education. His emphasis on teaching Bhakti literature at different levels, particularly universities, indicates that religious beliefs also play a central role in the curricula of higher education.

Similar to Vijayakumaran CPV, Kamila Gainulina and Yulia Sergaeva's paper centres upon the issue of religion in relation to its impacts on educational area. However, different from CPV, Gainulina and Sergaeva's work focuses elaborately on the adverse effects of imposing the Christian doctrines on the Russian students at the early stage of their education life. Their focus on different aspects of these negative consequences as well as their comparison of the situation in the Russian society with different countries in the world enlighten readers about the case of religious education in Russia.

Religion is not only a need but also a freedom for people. Considered in this sense, the restriction of this liberty can cause the emergence of radical reactions in social area. At this point, Vladlen Makoukh's chapter "Islamic Movements of Egypt and Egyptian Leadership" dwells on the emergence and development of Muslim Brotherhood as a reaction against the restrictions about the freedom of religious belief by the state authorities. The detailed survey of Muslim Brotherhood's historical development enables readers to get informed about the clash between secular and restrictive way of ruling a country in the case of Egyptian society. Jacek Skup's paper "Religion and Secessionism in Northeastern India in Context of Peace, Conflict and Nation Forming" also elaborates on the emergence of radical reactions in the field of religion. Different from Makoukh, Skup also discusses the fundamentalist organizations in Hinduism and Christianity. Therefore, Makoukh and Skup's works complete each other thematically.

Although the issue of religion has been discussed in different periods of history, it is still a debated subject in contemporary world. Considering the

dynamism of the contemporary world as an inevitable consequence of globalisation process, it is somehow inevitable that people turn out to exhibit a more tolerant approach to the recognition and appreciation of religions, cultures and lifestyles that are different from those to which they belong. At this point, Trishna P. Lekharu and Dr. E. R. Tongper's joint chapter "Postmodern Ethics in Religion: The Conflict of Ethics in Indian Religion" offers a postmodernist reading of the concept of religion. In their chapter, Lekharu and Tongper focus on the characteristics of postmodernism as a dominating worldview on the global scale. Based on the basics of postmodernism, they put emphasis on the reducing impact of religious norms and increasing effects of ethics on the social life in contemporary world. Their specification of this argument in relation to the case in Indian religions presents an insight regarding the interaction among different beliefs in cosmopolitan Indian society in contemporary context.

This book discusses the issue of religion in relation to different cultures and periods of history. Various beliefs and the interaction among them are reflected in a comparative method. The concentration on religion from an interdisciplinary view offers a significant contribution to religious studies in the international area.

Tarik Ziyad Gulcu

CARL GUSTAV JUNG AND PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION

Seyed Yasin Hosseini

When speaking of God, man actually refers to his inward God. This is wisdom that assumes significance rather than pure belief. Each person's life has a major role, in case it is neglected, it results in neurotic harms. Particularly, in the Middle Ages, human beings often had narrow-minded attitude and simply concentrated on some aspects of material life, i.e., work, marriage, and success and dealt less with their lives' spiritual aspects (Jung 2013, 16). . So, they were not happy entirely. For Carl Jung, spirituality greatly contributes to human beings' mental perfection. For Jung, this is wisdom which is of significance, not pure belief. He knew whenever stringent and inflexible prejudices penetrate the human mind; they could destroy religious perspectives and spiritual understanding existing in each individual entirely. At first, one can state that Jung states, as it is clear from the origin of the word Religion, it is meant "Thinking based on conscience and with uttermost attention" to something which in Rudolf Otto's opinion is a numinous object (McCurry 1999, 90).

Religious beliefs among people and their wide scope cannot be internalized simply through social teaching and learning; rather before the society get us familiar with religion. Religious elements have been communicated to us as hereditary beliefs from past generations and the society is only effective in form of these elements and their development. In English, when it is said one is interested in a cause from the bottom of heart, it is said he/she is almost religiously devoted to his/her cause, or for William James, a knowledgeable person is often faithless, but his/her state is religious (Jung, 2016, 21). From a Jungian psychology, a scientific theory, no matter how accurate it is, its value is psychologically less than the value of a religious belief. This is because a theory is necessarily abstract and exclusively a rational thing while a religious belief expresses a non-rational universality by means of imagery. This expression is far more suitable for identifying morale which is a non-rational sensible. Jung was the first psychologist who argued that man's psyche is God-knowing in its nature, suggesting that it is natural for us as human beings to believe that there is a supernatural being beyond our power. Jung considers as ineffective stringent belief in religion because it drags human beings' psyche towards spiritual stagnation and incompatibility.

He also emphasizes the experiences of an individual in his/her psychological mental health and development, and this same thing leads to the same fundamentalism in which the person clings to old teachings and theories such that he/she thinks whatever he/she sees is true and the opposite is wrong. Jung is among great pioneering psychologists who introduced a theory about the human nature in the first several decades of the 20th century. According to this theory, he believed that man's behavior, feeling, thoughts and desires would originate from an unconscious source. As a matter of fact, the word unconscious had been previously employed by Freud. Freud considered the phenomenon of religion as s sign of neuroticism, which relates to children's unconscious sexual anxieties about their

parents (Oedipus complex). However, Jung regards Freudian description of God, which is based on a sexual origin of unconscious desires, as unjustifiable and denies it. Unlike Freud, he has a constructive approach to religion.

Carl Jung and Psychoanalysis

Jung was born on July 26, 1875 in the city of Kesswil next to the Swiss Constantine River. Initially, he had close contacts with Freud, but distanced from him as Freud was introducing a personal consciousness discussion, and thus he joined a collective unconsciousness. This subject matter no longer indicates failed personal sexual desires and fears; rather it is an inheritance from the primary periods of human life registered in the historical memory of human beings. In 1913, Jung invented the term “psychoanalysis” because he intended to distinguish this methodology from Freud's psychoanalytic approach. Psychoanalysis is a general system of psychology that Jung completed during his life step by step. Jungian perspectives arose from different origins (he was a psychiatrist for 60 years and did many researches about his own patients' diseases; he investigated meticulous studies over the inward world, dreams and imaginations and symbols; he also did comprehensive and successive researches for discovery of myths and religious beliefs specific to various cultures and traveled a lot to know about psychological mysteries). His psychoanalysis seeks to yield a true picture of human psyche and its functions. Thus, psychoanalysis offers a way for deep understanding of human's psyche by using experiences and researches in the area of religious beliefs, dreams, myths, symbols and unconventional affairs. He stated that psyche is true and its reality is no less than a physical world. He also argued that whatever we are aware of is perceived and interpreted by the brain; thus, in this case, whatever we experience in this sense is, in itself, a mental affair (Palmer 2016, 182). Jung made use of active dreams and imagery for the discovery of the inside world and human psyche. For him, there were no certain boundaries or separation between the external world and psyche (Palmer 2016, 13).

Jung and Freud's differences over religion:

- Jung refuses Freud's definition of religion as a sexual neuroticism
- Jung refuses Freud's explanation of religious neurosis mechanism
- Jung did not accept Freud's over-negative interpretation over religion as a neurosis
- Jung refutes Freud's retrospective interpretation of religion as a neurosis
- Jung states that religion does not signify a sexual impulse or a childhood impulse; rather it is a libido move towards the deepest layers of the psyche in which lie collective unconscious universal and old subjective images.

Freud sexualized religion, i.e., for him, religion is a manifestation of a neurotic psyche sexually repressed. For Jung, this takeaway is a sign of Freud's inability to envisage beyond his sexual theory and to discern the fact that man's libido is activated by something beyond a biological mechanism. This means that libido can

also be handled by an essential experience, which is specific to the universal, eternal and collective features of an unconscious mind.

Libido should not be called sexual energy; rather it is a general life force. Later, Jung removed it and used the phrase mental energy instead (Bagheripur 2010, 85).

Pleasure can originate from different sources and cannot be considered as peculiar to a sexual desire as Freud put it. This same change of concept, i.e., an energetic libido instead of Freud's sexual libido produces a different perception of religion. Here, religion is no longer considered as a mixture of repression from feeling of guilt and faithful obsessive thinking; rather it is regarded as a natural dimension and a beginning for a mental activity. He states that the reality of God is just an ancient father embedded in the collective unconsciousness. In this context, God is perceived as an inevitable being and a non-reducible mental reality, which cannot be transformed or transmuted which the individual experiences it as the deepest level of his/her being.

Jung's Definition of Psyche

Psyche is composed of three various and interacting levels. These three levels are consciousness, personal unconsciousness and collective unconsciousness. Consciousness is part of the mind, which is directly accessed by the person and includes feedbacks through which the individual adjusts to the external world. On the other hand, we have personal unconsciousness. As the name speaks for itself, it is exclusive and peculiar to the person and he/she acquires it during his/her life. Here, we not only find childhood tendencies and desires that Freud stated in his Repressive Theory, but we also see all mental stuff not yet reached the threshold of consciousness. However, they are apt to reach that threshold. Personal unconsciousness includes forgotten memories and painful repressed thinking. Collective unconsciousness is distinguished from personal unconsciousness in that it does not depend on personal experience and cannot be acquired individually. Hence, we are faced with the deepest and broadest layer of the psyche; a repertoire of unconsciousness stuff which have never reached consciousness. Accordingly, collective unconsciousness indicates personal and impersonal foundation of psyche and an expansion of personal consciousness and unconsciousness. Thus, one can claim that peoples' history, i.e., their consciousness facing an external world and their unconsciousness facing the past are influenced by their ancestors and these issues have had deep impacts on their psyche.

Comparison of Western and Eastern School of Thought from Jungian Religious Psychology

Carl Gustav Jung divides each person's character into two approaches and four types of performance, and he accordingly, classifies Western and Eastern people. The approaches are: 1) Introversion: Here, mental energy is inwards, i.e., it is directed at the individual himself/herself; 2) Extroversion: In this part, the mental energy is

outward, i.e., it is directed at an external theme. The four types of performance are as follows:

- Rational: These people establish rational and emotional relations with the surrounding world;
- Emotional: These people value everything based on their judgments (Snowden 2013, 14-20);
- Sensual and superficial: These people are affected by senses, and their impressions are mainly sensual;
- Intuitional: These people's perception mainly arises from their inner senses.

Accordingly, based on the comparison of Western and Eastern thinking, he concludes:

- Western people are mainly extroverts and see meaning in external subjects and seek meaning in the real worlds. Among the Western people, the conscious self is introduced independently and without any links with the unconscious self.
- Eastern people are mainly introverts and seek meaning inside them. Among Eastern people, there is a tendency to integrate the conscious self into the unconscious self.

So, Jung maintains that meaning can be found in both external and internal worlds. Jung states that faith in God cannot be interpreted by simply attending to church and following religious rites. For him, man is a manifestation of God's being and God helps man with his development. However, this is a two-pronged trend, i.e. movement by man and assistance from God.

Defining Collective Unconsciousness

Collective unconsciousness is a repertoire of works which man has acquired from old ancestors and even from their non-human evolutionary creatures. These works are known as intuitions and perceptions, which have happened to the minds of peoples' ancestors and repeated in later generations and have joined experiences. Since collective unconsciousness is common to all people, in most cases different people tend to show a similar response in the face of situations, forms and special symbols. For Jung, collective unconsciousness enables some previous readiness to appear in us concerning what exists in our surrounding and to react to the world in a selective form. Our ancestors' mental processes determine our approach to the world and our interpretation of it. For example, when man steps in the world, he has this talent to perceive or think in special direction and forms, which could evolve by means of personal experience as time goes by. Man sees the world in a three-dimensional form since the time of birth and expands this ability in the course of the experiences gained. The very discovery of this unconsciousness has been a turning point in the contemporary psychology and contributed to wider understanding of human psyche and mind. In the light of this theory, we find out that our behaviors are not only affected as we establish communications with an external world, but past facts also affect our behaviors. The way our ancestors thought and felt life, the world, religion and God would constitute our thinking (Bruner, 1992, 41-43).

Defining Archetype

The term “archetype” is taken from a Greek word composing of arche meaning first and type meaning seals, signs or patterns. Archetypes mean a repertoire of experiences, which have constantly repeated throughout history. These patterns have always existed since birth for each human and have settled in the deepest unconsciousness part of people’s minds. Each person can face them inside him/her through fancy and imaginations and outside him/her by means of myths and religious teachings. An archetype can be experienced in the form of various shapes; a story of a shape or picture like Mandela's, a legendary character or even an emotional feeling. In this sense, Jung employs the example of the solar movement in the sky seen each day. Seeing the sun in the sky can be said to have led to the formation of a myth of the sun as a hero who dies each day and is reborn. These myths could also be seen in different religions and their themes are somewhat different in different religions. Thus, a natural phenomenon reveals an internal picture known with a myth. Jung argues that archetypes are constantly religious in nature and expose a sense of sacredness and supernaturalism as they appear in our dreams and imaginations. Archetypes are impressions and imaginations, which do not exist in our material world, but for Jung, this does not mean that they lack a distinct reality. Jung owes the understanding of archetypes to Philemon, a spiritual leader. Philemon is a mythical Hakim or philosopher belonging to archetypes. It appears that it has a distinct identity for them. Human beings fancy different forms of archetypes in their own minds in the cultures they live in, but these archetypes remain the same (Philip 1958, 90). Jung argues that to deeply understand our psyche, we need no mythology because myths are in fact considered projection and they are a reflection of collective unconsciousness. This is similar to analytical techniques for perceiving the true meaning of dreams. Archetypes are characterized by universality and generality, potentiality, empiricism, changes and transformation and relativity.

Jung’s Methodology in Psychoanalysis

Jung has often admitted that although he has been regarded as a philosopher, he is an experientialist. From a phenomenological point of view, for Jung, phenomenology consists of clear and concise description of observable internal realities that involve a wider range of mental phenomena taken for granted so far. Hence, products of "Thinking based on imagination" including dreams, fancies, inspirations, art experiences and beliefs do not fall in here, because there is no need for adjustment to the external world. In fact, subjective imagination of reality by means of psyche is only true for the person who has created it. Therefore, an issue of experimentalism is a personal subjective experience and this experience should not be removed for the fact that it can be reduced to Oedipal effects or that it is claimed that it is a supernatural response to a transcendental but unknown reality. Jung argues that psychology is just concerned with the realities of such experiences and accordingly, any mental experience including a religious experience is tried for as

much as it exists. Thus, for Jung, realities determine mental phenomena and they are also interpreted as realities. Jung states that all knowledge relating to the world of psyche-since it is immediate-is true at its zenith level. Thus, the reality to which psychology can refer is a mental reality (Jung, 1992, 100).

Jung and Religion

Jung believes that man has constantly asked for the help of religion. This help is possible as follows: unconsciousness reaches the level of consciousness in man's psyche, then leaving man free to overcome it best. Jung states that religion is a special state of human psyche that can be defined as follows: a state of care, remembrance and accurate attention to some effective factors which people have referred to as "Force Major" and envisaged them as devils' ghosts, gods, archetypal laws and desirable perfection. Jung states that today, there might not be a way except psychology, and this is because of the fact that, as I have again assumed, the thinking becomes solid during history and seeks to melt them down and casts them in form of sensual experiences. However, it is a tricky task to find a connecting path between religious experiences and sensual experiences. A study of unconscious natural symbols yields the primary means for this. For Jung, religion has various functions such as giving meaning to life, mental health, inhibiting frustration and hopelessness and purposelessness in life as well as providing unity to personality and balancing it. Religion also reduces mental pressure, prevents fear and anxiety, creates hope and responsibility in man and cheerfulness and happiness. Religion is a kind of psychotherapy and is one of the most significant factors which help the psychology process adjusts to the environment. Because religiosity is a psychological need in human beings, whenever their psyche is void of God, unconsciousness will replace (Palmer 2007, 66-67).

Collective Unconsciousness Archetypes

Archetypes are unconscious organizers of our thinking. Archetypes cannot be observed by themselves but involve effects called subjective images and old thinking which make thinking decision possible. Therefore, the content of archetypes depends on a phenomenal world. However, archetypes, i.e., a form without content cannot be identified, because we know nothing about what lies beyond the phenomenal world. Jung elaborates on five archetypes; persona (mask), shadow, anima and animus and self (ibid).

Archetype of mask: It refers to a mask which actors put on for showing their own roles in the drama. This archetype indicates a mental tendency; i.e., individual's tendency to hide what truly exists for what the society really expects him/her.

Archetype of shadow: Unlike mask, shadow determines that part of the individual he/she prefers not to be revealed. Shadow involves dark, unorganized and repressed parts of the individual, or as Jung puts it, whatever refuses to be confirmed.

Archetype of anima and animus: This archetype relates to reciprocally somatic characteristics of psyche. Anima is a man's female characteristic while animus is the woman's male characteristic, as we experience our shadow through the latter, we develop our attributions about the opposite sex through the latter. Anima and animus appear as archetypes in various images. For example, anima can be a holy virgin or seductive woman, whereas animus can be seen as the god of wine (Dionysus) or an enemy (Jung 1992, 58).
Self: The archetype of self is the most significant and meantime the vaguest structural component of psyche. Jung states a psyche system is not a resident and silent system; rather it is dynamic and is constantly exposed to changes and interaction, suggesting a sense of our identity. Freud was the first person who used Ego and Jung expanded it. Freud believed that his main duty was to reveal reality to us and to protect our psyche, to maximize our pleasure and to minimize suffering. He assumed no such a great difference between ego and conscious self. However, Jung stated the difference between ego and self and argued that self has integrated and coherent features and involves all conscious and unconscious aspects of the psyche. The very self of an unconscious mind exists since the time of birth. It is true that ego grows in childhood and that it seeks a biologic goal and is also interested in spirituality and divinity. The end goal of self is to get man reach perfection. Ego's health depends on self's health.

God as an Archetype

The Jungian meaning of the notion of God is that God is an archetype. From this perspective, Jung attaches an attribute for God, an attribute which is the characteristic of all archetypes. This attribute proposes that God, as an archetype, is the manifestation of the deepest level of unconscious mind, i.e., collective unconsciousness. However, we can also infer another major distinction from the fact that God is an archetype and that inference is common to all archetypes; this is a distinction under the title of God as an archetype and God as a content of archetype. Thus, Jungian discussion of God involves two sections. On the one hand, we deal with an analysis of God as a sign, i.e., a God who is unknown, eternal, immoral and on the other hand, an analysis of God in the form of subjective images and religious symbols offered to us (Bagheripur 2010, 57). The claim God is a form of archetype means that He is like a talent or a tendency that starts working at a certain time of mind evolution and causes conscious stuff to be arranged in a certain pattern, and like other forms, this form is considered as an internal reality, i.e., something that exists not in the man's outwards but in his inwards as a strong dimension in his mental life. Jung says that inside our deepest existential level, there is an ancient form of God which has been unimaginably carved on our psyche, and thus the question is: Could Jungian claim that there is an ancient form of God inside the human psyche prove the concrete existence of God? Here, we look at Kant's discussions where no experience-induced reasoning can substantiate the existence of something which lies beyond man's experience borders, and therefore, it cannot prove a transcendental being which is super-sensual like God (ibid). However, this does not mean that God

does not exist or to consider a concrete belief as void and null. Kant says it is human limitations that make them ready for belief. He states that the human capacity for a moral thinking needs something beyond him; something which could compel him to some moral thinking and practice, and that thing is God. Thus, the experience of a moral commitment makes it necessary for us to accept the existence of God in a hypothetical way. Jung states "When I'm aware of something, there is no need for me to have faith in it". Thus, Jungian reasoning is similar to Kant's approach. When asked whether or not God exists, he said that the answer to this question was difficult. He said: "I'm aware of it (I know God), I don't need faith, and I'm only aware of it. This is not an admission to have faith, as faith means I'm not sure I'm aware of it. Jungian thinking and experience refers to God inside; i.e., an immediate and certain God. He has converted sentence "God exists" to a psychological reality.

However, the second part of Jungian discussion about God falls within the content of archetypes as an archetype; i.e., God archetypal content explains nothing except a mental experience of God which has created them, and thus they are the only main themes studied by psychologists. God archetypal content is inferred only through the way they are manifested like concrete manifestations of (main) pervious human beings' (God's form) tendency that are by themselves unknown. These manifestations are only revealed in a symbolic form, and this symbolic form as well as a symbolic language is the language of religion; i.e., the only language which is suitable for the manifestation of an individual's immediate and certain mental experience of God. Meantime, a symbol differs from sign. For Jung, a sign is a coded meaning which placed emphasized on a certain and known thing whereas a symbol is unknown. For instance, if the Christian Cross is taken to mean a direct divine love, thus, this interpretation is coded and sign based, and when it involves a symbolic state and accepted by all explanations, it denotes a manifestation of an unknown and unperceivable reality of the transcendental and mythical nature which has revealed itself as a suitable form in the Cross. However, symbol is a living thing and it is alive until it involves meaning. That a thing becomes a symbol or not depends on feedbacks of the people who see it (ibid).

Jungian Religious Experience

According to a notable definition of religion by Jung in his lectures at the University of Yale in 1937, religion is a special tendency of one's mind in which "dynamic factors" are viewed so beautifully and meaningfully to be praised. This tendency enjoys the highest and strongest value, and it can be even said that mentally speaking, it is so important. In other words, religion is an accurate and prudent observation of something which is to Rudolf Otto spirituality. This spirituality creates a certain interpretation in consciousness. Thus, from Jungian perspective, a religious experience is a spiritual experience, and a spiritual experience is a product of man's necessary mental processes. Jung has distinguished between what is real in a spiritual situation and what is received. On the one hand, we have a process dependent on the human's psyche, which originates from collective unconsciousness.

This process serves as an old, global and eternal process and is distinct from individualized products of personal unconsciousness that has a unique force of self, which is able to create similarity and representation in the personal experience. This process is the "form" of God archetype. On the other hand, experience of an archetypical form is intermediary; God's form is not known directly; rather it is only identifiable through its effects, i.e., by means of God as an archetypical content. Thus, man receives the manifestation of a durable, transcendental and super-individuals of his existence, i.e., the inward God through religious symbolic imaginations. This immediacy is guaranteed by means of the inward dynamism force.

Criticism against Jung's Notion of Religion

1. Jung's attitude to religion is not directed at its reality; rather it is directed at its usefulness. His approaches are based on positivist religious propositions. For Jung, no religion can claim to be absolute or universal. For him, God can represent in various patterns and forms. Meantime, one cannot state that one or several manifestations are null and void, rather all manifestations are true.
2. Jung reduces religion to a psychological affair. Erick Fromm says that Jung lowers religion to a psychological level while promoting unconsciousness to a religious phenomenon.
3. Jungian perspective is philosophical rather than psychological or experiential. Jung consistently states that he is an experientialist and has used a method in expressing his theories. However, most of his thinking is concerned with collective unconsciousness, character functions. His ideas about the principle of conflict and moral principles are all philosophical (Snowden 2013, 131).
4. Jungian philosophical perspective is in essence Kantian. He often views external realities beyond subjective phenomena. For instance, he states that we do not have an absolute God at all; rather we look at a psychological God that He is real. At this point, his perspectives do not suffice and remain incomplete and psychology as a body of knowledge is incomplete without metaphysics.
5. Jung sees God within the circle of psychology, by which God is not converted to something beyond a subjective experience (ibid).

Conclusion

By introducing a theory of archetypes, Jung sought a way beyond common empirical sciences and rationalism ways in the 19th century so that he could penetrate the sky confined to empiricism and rationalism and test a new design. For him, the religious experience does not belong to any of these two realms. To know God, one has to look for another method except for what is common in natural sciences. Accordingly, religious beliefs and rationality and their truthfulness need modern interpretations. Jungian perspective over tendency to religion and belief in God can be concluded as saying he was an advocate of religion and thought religious experiences were real in a sense. He assumes a real value for all religious and

considers religions as healing. For Jung, archetypes are realms of religion and become revealed through dreams.

From Jung's discourses about God, it is understood that he believed in an eternal God. When speaking of God, he meant the picture of God, not the God of the universe. Jungian sentences indicated a reality; a special person where in this case, Jung is a mental experience, i.e., a certain God or the inward God, and that this experience is immediate and clear. This is the experience which concerns the existence of God as a mental reality to a psychological reality. Thus, God does exist as a mental reality and as a fundamental and psychological factor that is explicable. What Jung dealt with is the reality of this phenomenon. Finally, in his psychoanalysis, Jung sought to determine the truthfulness and vainness of religion and its values because the determination of this issue is out of psychology.

References

1. Bagheripur, A. (2010). Philosophical researches, (18), 16-22
2. Brown, M. (1992). Jung and psychology of religion, (F. Rouhani, Trans.), Tehran, Pocket-
    a. sized books company
3. Bruner, F. (1992). Descriptive dictionary of psychology terminology, (M. Yasa'ea, and F.
    a. Taheri, Trans.), Tarh-e-Now
4. McCurry, J. (1999). The 20th century religious thinking, (B. Maleki, Trans.), Tehran: Amir
    a. Kabir
5. Palmer, M. (2006). Freud, Jung and religion, (M. Dehghanpur and Dr. Gh. Mahmoodi, Trans.), Tehran, Roshd
6. Philip, H. L. (1958). Jung and the issue of evil, London, Radcliff
7. Snowden. R. (1998). Jung and key concepts, (A. Sheikh Al-Eslamzade. Trans). Tehran

CHRISTIANIZATION OF GEORGIA IN GEORGIAN FOLKLORE AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

Nino Ghambashidze

As Christianization has been the ongoing process from the very beginning until now, I decided to focus only on three main stages of the Christian mission in Georgia, dating back to the first-sixth centuries. First century is the period of spreading Good News, conversion into Christianity and establishment of Christian communities or early churches. Fourth century is the period of conversion, announcing Christianity as official religion and establishing official church, period of teaching and enlightening. Sixth century is also the period of spreading, strengthening, teaching Christianity and establishing coenobitic monastic life.

According to the Greek[2] and Georgian[3] historical sources, church and folk traditions in the first century, St. Andrew preached in Georgia and founded first Christian communities. According to the Georgian historical chronicle "Kartlis Tskhovreba" (Life of Kartli), after casting a lot among apostles, Georgia became a lot of Holy Virgin Mary, the country, where she had to preach and spread Christianity. But as she had to stay in Jerusalem, she summoned St. Andrew the First-Called took a board, put it on her face and the image of the Virgin was miraculously imprinted on the wooden board. She asked St. Andrew to go to Georgia, preach instead of her and give newly converts her not-made-by-hand icon.[4] The sources and traditions also speak about St. Simeon the Canaanite and St. Matthias. St. Simeon who came to Georgia together with St. Andrew at the beginning of the mission died in West Georgia, most precisely in Abkhazia and is buried in Akhali Atoni/New Athos. Georgian tradition tells us that St. Matthias died in Ajara and is buried in Gonio.[5] They spread Good News in Georgia too. This was the first stage of spreading Christianity in Georgia, when the communities or churches of the newly converted Christians were established.

In the fourth century St. Nino came to Georgia to preach Christianity holding grapevine cross, given to her by the Holy Virgin Mary.[6] The Chronicle says that when living in Jerusalem, St. Nino hotly prayed day and night in front of the Holy Virgin's

[1] The article is prepared within the frames of the project "Unknown Archive Materials and Traditional Culture of the East Georgian Highlands (Ethnological studes)" funded by Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia.

[2] Kobiashvili Malkhaz, "Mimosvla andria motsiqulisa" [Journeys of St. Andrew the First-Called], (Tbilisi: St. Andrew the First-Called Georgian University of the Patriarchate of Georgia, 2008), 5-10.

[3] Kartlis Tskhovreba [Life of Kartli], I, edited by Svimon Kaukhchishvili, (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1955), 38-43; Prince Teimuraz, Istoria iberiisa [History of Iberia], (Saint Petersburg, 1848), 11-147.

[4] Ibid, Kartlis Tskhovreba.

[5] Bubulashvili Eldar, Sakartvelos eklesiis sicmindeebi [Relics of the Church of Georgia], (Tbilisi: Akhali Iverioni, 2007), 192.

[6] Unknown author, Ninos Tskhovreba [Nino's life], Prose, book I, (Tbilisi: Sabchota Sakartvelo, 1991), 209.

icon. Once when she was "excitedly praying"[7] at Zion Church, the Holy Virgin appeared in front of her and told her to go to the Northern country, go and fearlessly teach the truth!" "But I am a woman and I do not speak foreign language?"- Nino answered. Then the Virgin cut the rods off the grapevine growing on her grave,[8] made a cross, gave to Nino and said "With this you will defeat the evil, insidiousness, and your sermons will be fruitful, I will be a shield for you". St. Nino came to Georgia with the grapevine cross, converted king Mirian (who in his kingdom announced Christianity an official religion), his wife Nana and the natives of the kingdom of Kartli and with the help of clergy and king Mirian founded the Church of Georgia as an institution.[9] This was the second stage of spreading Christianity in Georgia. Grapevine cross is known as St. Nino's cross and is one of the symbols of the Church of Georgia.[10]

One day, a well-known Assyrian father of the sixth century, Ioane (John) of Zedazeni summoned his disciples and said that Holy Virgin Mary appeared to him and told to choose 12 among his disciples, go with them to Georgia and preach Christianity. After ardent prayers and serving liturgy, the angel chose 12 disciples who followed St. Ioane.[11]They came to Georgia, preached and strengthened Orthodox Christianity in the country and in fact founded coenobitic Christian monasticism. This was the third stage of the Christianization of Georgia. As it was mentioned above, according to Georgian historical sources and church tradition, the supporter and participant of all these three missions both personally (in the case of St. Andrew) and spiritually (in the case of St. Nino and Assyrian fathers) was the Holy Virgin Mary. As it is known, that Georgia is the country, where she had to preach and spread Christianity, therefore, from our point of view, according to historical sources and beliefs, in fact, she participated and headed the entire process of Christianization of Georgia and thus, carried out the lot that was given to her by God. According to the Orthodox Church tradition the Holy Virgin Mary casted lots together with Christ's disciples where, in which country, to preach Christianity. Providentially Georgia became Her lot.[12]

---

[7] Natroev Anton, Mtskheta I ego sobor Svetitskhoveli [Mtskheta and its Cathedral Svetitskhoveli], (Tiflis: Typography of Kozlovski, 1900), 124.

[8] As it is well known, the place of Holy Virgin's passing is connected with Zion Church.

[9] Moktsevai Kartlisai [Conversion of Kartli], ed. Aleksidze Zaza, (Tbilisi: Patriarchate of Georgia,2007) , 3-59; Shatberdis Krebuli [Shatberdi Collection], ed. Giunashvili Elguja, Gigineishvili Bakar, (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1979), 320-355; Sabinin Mikheil, Sakartvelos Samotkhe [Paradise of Georgia],(Petersburg: Typography of the Emperor's Academy of Sciences, 1882), 119-155.

[10] In Tbilisi Kashveti St. Giorgi church, instead of the Last Supper above the central door of the iconostases, there was an icon of the Holy Virgin Marry who was giving vine cross to St. Nino with her right hand. With her left hand she was showing St. Nino a word, Iberia (old name of Georgia), written on a scroll meaning that St. Marry was sending her to a country allotted to the Holy Virgin (ibid, Tsintsadze, 29). It also must be mentioned that the initial church of Kashveti was methochion of the Holy Cross Church in Mtskheta (Ghambashidze Nino, Tsminda Davit Garejeltan dakavshirebuli dghesascaulebi [Feasts Connected with St. David of Gareja], in Georgian Antiquities, no 4-5, ed. Khuskivadze Iuza, Vacheishvili Nikoloz, Janjalia Mzia, (Tbilisi, 2003), 49.

[11] Mikheil Sabinin, Sakartvelos Samotkhe [Paradise of Georgia], (Petersburg: The printing house of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1882), 223-224.

[12] This is the church tradition which disseminated in Christendom from the work of Stephan the Athonite "Mental Paradise". The original version did not reach us. It was translated from Greek. We know Russian (see: Rai mislenni [Mental Paradise], Typography of The Iviron Monastery, 1658,

The strongest tradition that reached us about St. Andrew's preaching is connected with Samegrelo, one of the regions in West Georgia. On the site of the present Martvili Church, there used to be a big oak tree (*Didi chkoni - chkondidi*) to which a man's figure, made of cast-iron (of copper - according to some data) was tied. The idol was called *Kapunia/Rokapunia*, or *Didgimiri/Dodgimiri*. In some people's imagination it was an eagle, which had its nest in Chkondidi. The priests of the idol were called *chkondaris*. At the Idol's feast on Tutashkhoba (the Moon's day, Monday) or on Sunday-*Bzhashkha* - according to some data, the mother was to sacrifice her child to Kapunia. Chkondaris would put the baby into the open mouth of the cast-iron idol. On the feast day Chkondaris cast lots to choose a child to be sacrificed for the next year. On Saturday the parents of the child, chosen by the deity gave a family party, and on Sunday-*Bzhashkha* (the Sun's day) the child was taken in the carriage to the oak, where the sacrificial ceremony was to be held.[13] Study of the issue showed that C*hkondidi/Kapunia/Rokapunia/Didgimiri* was the supreme deity and might have had the features of Cronus who swallowed his children.

According to the tradition, Andrew-the-First-Called and Simeon the Canaanite arrived in Martvili to preach Christianity. St. Andrew demolished the idol, cut down the oak and erected a cross on the site. Before the eyes of the devout he hit the big oak with an axe and when the Christ's disciple remained unharmed, people recognized the power of Christ. Later, on the stump of the cut *Chkondidi* tree the altar of Martvili church was erected.

According to the folk tradition, St. Andrew announced that mothers would never have to sacrifice their children again. After St. Andrew's preach to a majority of population in Samegrelo enabled the people to accept Christianity. When the apostle cut down the big oak and when the newly converted residents of Bandza (the village neighboring to Martvili) returned back home, they turned uprooting of the oak into a feast and called it *Chvenieroba*, as a symbol of the victory over heathenism. According to the data provided by informants, *Chvenieroba* had been celebrated in Samegrelo until the 1920s, when it was eventually prohibited by Communists. The feast day of this festival is on the eighth day after Easter i.e. on Monday, following Antipasch. As the oral tradition has it the establishment of the feast in Samegrelo is associated with the village Bandza.[14]

---

http://www.vnikitskom.ru/antique/auction/16/5325/, retrieved in 01.10.2017) and Georgian translations. Famous seventeenth century Russian holy father and Saint Dimitry of Rostov in his well-known "Cheti-Minei", Lives of Saints, writes about it. Dimitry of Rostov, Zhitia Sviatix [Lives of saints], https://azbyka.ru/otechnik/Dmitrij_Rostovskij/zhitija-svjatykh/672, retrieved in 01.10.2017. See also: Bubulashvili, E., Ghvtismshoblis tsilkhvedri iveria (istoriul-tskarotmcodneobiti analizi) [Iberia, a Lot of the Holy Virgin (Analyses of the Historical and Source Data)], in Logos, no 8. (2014): 196; Chelidze, E., Ghvtismshoblisadmi kartlis tsilkhvdomilobis shesaxeb [About Kartli Being a Lot of the Holy Virgin], in Logos, no 8. (2014):60; Trofimov, A., Raduisa blagaia vratarnitsa…raskazi ob iverskoi Bozhiei Materi [Rejoice Gracious Panagia Portaitissa…Stories about The Icon of the Iviron Theotokos], (Moscow: Ruski Khronograph, 1997), 6-7.

[13] Mashurko M., Predania osnovania Martvilskogo monastyria [Legends of the Founding of the Martville Monastery], in SMOMPK [Collection of Materials on the Description of Localities and Tribes of the Caucasian], no 18, III. (1894): 376-377; Eliava Givi, Chkondidi-Marvili (istoriuli mimoxilva), [Chkondidi-Martvili (Historical Review)], (Tbilisi: Tsodna , 1962), 15.

[14] Ghambashidze Nino, Ethnographical expedition in Senaki-Martvili region, 2006, manuscript.

According to historical chronicles, St. Nino, who converted Georgians into Christianity in the fourth century, erected a cross on the mountain where now is the church of the Holy Cross. The tradition tells that the eighth day after Easter was a festival of erecting this holy cross by her.[15] It should also be mentioned that the eighth day after Easter is not a feast day according to the new church calendar of the Orthodox Church of Georgia or of the old one, as we know, but used to be celebrated by people and was habitual to other parts of Georgia as well.

The ethnographical and folklore materials which are at our disposal on the first stage of research allow us to state that for both highlanders and plainsmen St. Nino is a holy person who, with the help of the Cross, fights against evil forces, defeats them and thus paganism, brings down and ruins idols, establishes church and liturgical life. She is the patroness of women, those who are virgins and those who want to lead family life, or have problems in feeding newly born babies as well.

According to the Georgian historical monument "Kartlis Moktseva" (Konvertion of Kartli) St. Nino, when she attended the festival of the supreme God of Kartli Kingdom – Armazi (the idol made of copper, with a moving sword), prayed and asked God to demolish the idols. These idols were Gatsi and Ga or Gaimi. Armazi stood inbetween them. Soon, the citizens watched the idols being ruined. This became the starting point for St. Nino to preach.

Georgian folk tradition against evil forces, called *Chiakokonoba* takes place on Wednesday before Easter, the day in church calendar, when Judas betrayed Christ. At that very night people make bonfires and jump over them saying: "Aruru to you witches!" that in fact means "Be damned or come out you witches!" In the fourth century, when St. Nino came to Kartli, demolished the idols, together with different pagan beliefs Zoroastrianism was strongly spread in the kingdom. The folk tradition asossiates *Chiakokonoba* ritual with Zoroastrianism. The folk tradition says, that when St. Nino saw *Chiakokonoba* ritual still performed by the newly converted Christians, she thought they might have returned to their old beliefs and three times, crosswise jumped or stepped over the bonfire saying: "Come out evil creatures! Witches be damned! Be cross upon this site!" Thus, she "christianised" the pagan ritual and as the legend says: she left this tradition to people as entertainment and for the memory that Christianity won over paganism. In my opinion, it is an act of a sort of preaching that folk memory maintained;[16] a kind of missionary activity like those when churches were built on pagan temples, their ruins or pagan sites. In this case we have an example of "building" Chritian tradition on a non-Christian one. In the sixth century, one of the Assyrian fathers, Abibos of Nekresi was stoned to death by Zoroastrian Persians because he poured water on their holy fire.[17] In my opinion, for the Assyrian father it meant to demolish an idol. At a trail Holy Father was accused in killing Zoroastrian god.[18] In both stories there is an echo of the opposition between Christianity and Zoroastrianism.

[15] Ibid, Natroev, 17.

[16] Meghvinetkhutsesov, Dimitri, "Chiakokonoba" [Tchiakokonoba], in newspaper "Droeba", no 3 (1872): 3; Unknown Author, in newspaper "Novoe obozrenie" , no 2519 (1891): 3.

[17] Ibid, Sabinin, 214-215.

[18] Ibid, 215.

In the sixth century, when thirteen Assyrian fathers came to Georgia, the same opposition can be seen in their activities as well. One of the most popular and well-known stories is connected to St. David of Gareja. Initially he lived in a cave on Mount Mamadaviti (Father David), which towers over Tbilisi. Later, in the tenth century, the mountain was named Mtatsminda (Holy Mountain) in honour of the Athos. The monks of the Georgian Athonite monastery stayed there when they were in Tbilisi. It was a methochion of the famous Georgian monastery on Athos named the Panagia Portaitissa or the Iviron Theotokos. Now the mountain in Tbilisi has both names. There is a famous and popular story the tradition attaches to St. David.

When St. David lived in a small cave in Mtatsminda Mountain in Tbilisi, on Thursdays he used to come down and preach. As tradition says, Zoroastrians did not appreciate it. They bribed seduced pregnant nun or in another version, a pregnant woman, who publicly announced that the seducer was St. David. At a trial St. David took his staff with a small cross and put it on the belly of the woman addressing the baby in the mother's womb: Am I your father? No, answered the baby from the womb and pronounced a name of a certain blacksmith. Despite this, St. David asked people not to punish the woman, but she was sentenced to be stoned. According to another version, Father David said to the woman: Give birth to a stone! And the woman miraculously gave birth to a stone. The tradition says that on that very place where the woman gave birth to a stone Tbilisi Kashveti church of St. Giorgi stands. Kashveti in Georgian means: she gave birth to a stone.[19]

One of the folk stories tells in fact a similar account about another Assyrian father Ioseb (Joseph) of Alaverdi who preached and strived in Kakheti (one of the provinces in East Georgia). According to folk stories, he made a lot of miracles with the help of a part of the holy Cross on which Jesus Christ was crucified. St. Ioseb had worn the relic since his childhood. Once he was somewhere in an old monastery. In the monastery, one of the nuns became pregnant. Monks blamed St. Ioseb. He was taken to lime kiln for burning. St. Ioseb asked monks to let him say three words. They agreed. St. Ioseb put his crutch on the nun's belly and asked: whose child you are? From the womb the child responded: I am swineherd's child! Ioseb was released.[20]

The study of the issue showed that all the three stages in the Georgins' religious life and mentality are connected not only with the Holy Virgin Mary, the patroness of Georgia, but also, with May 7, the feast day of the Cross of Mtskheta, the feast day of the first original Georgian Church as a building and original festival of the Georgian Church.

There are four festivals dedicated to the Cross of Mtskheta: May 7, third Sunday after Easter, Wednesday following the Pentecost and according to Anton Natroev, eighth day after Easter (first Monday after Antipasch). As I mentioned above, Natroev says that it was a day when St. Nino erected the cross on the very place where now there is the Holy Cross Church. According to tradition, the Cross erected by St. Nino was

[19] There is another, less popular explanation of the word. Kashveti=kvatashua that in Georgian means between stones. Tsintsadze Kalistrate, "Kashvetis tsminda giorgis eklesia tbilisshi" [Kashveti St. Giorgi Church in Tbilisi], ed. Kavtaria Mikheil, (Tbilisi: Kandeli, 1994), 10; Ibid, Sabinin , 269.

[20] Bochorishvili Luba, Folk Festivals in Kakheti, 1937, Summer, Archive of I. Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnology, M², no20, Kakh.1, notebook no 199, 35-36.

made of miraculous tree planted by St. Andrew on the place where the Holy Cross Church stands, when he carried out his missionary work in Georgia. Martvili church and the Holy Cross in Mtkheta were built in the seventh century and both have a form of a cross.

Feast of the Cross of Mtskheta celebrated on May, 7 accumulates significant information in the Georgians' memory and religious mentality, mainly of the three stages of spreading Christianity in Georgia. The mentioned day is called *Dzelitskhovloba* (day of the Holy Log = Holy Cross) in Kakheti, people related it to St. Andrew. The same day in Kartli (another province in East Georgia) is St. Nino's Day. According to the Georgian Orthodox Church calendar, the day is dedicated to 13 holy fathers who came to Georgia from Assyria. The ethnographical material of the feast of May 7 is full of rights and rituals related to the Revelation of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem on May 7, 351.

The feast of the Cross of Mtskheta acquires particular meaning in the context of the feast *Chvenieroba* celebrated in Martvili region (West Georgia) as both festivals are related, on the one hand, to erecting of crosses by St. Andrew and his successful mission in Georgia and, on the other hand, with the ongoing process of Christianization in the fourth century when St. Nino continued St Andrew's mission and on the same place erected a cross made of the miraculous tree planted by the First-Called.

Ethnological and folklore materials besides their syncretic character are obvious reflections of the historical sources telling about the conversion of Georgia. In our case Georgian folk narrative tells that the church of the Holy Cross in Mtskheta is a symbol of the history of Christianisation of Georgia and thus, one of the symbols of the Church of Georgia. On the other hand, it is also a reflection of the historical fact that the Church of Georgia originates from Jeusalem. According to the Orthodox Church tradition, Georgia is a lot of the Holy Virgin Mary, was christianised by the Christ's disciples who came from Jerusalem and by St. Nino, who lived and was brought up as a teacher of law in Jerusalem. The Church of Georgia for some centuries followed the Rite of the Church of Jerusalem. According to the historical narrative and tradition, the Jews from Georgia attended Christ's crucifixion and bought His Holy Tunic in Jerusalem. They brought it to Mtskheta, old capital of Georgia. In the fourth century over this tunic Svetitkhoveli Cathedral (Church of the Holy Pillar) was built. These three stages took place within the frames of the history of the Christian mission.

References

1. Bochorishvili, Luba. Folk Festivals in Kakheti. Summer. Archive of I. Javakhishvili Institute
2. of History and Ethnology, M², no 20, Kakh.1, notebook no199 (1937): 35-36.
3. Bubulashvili, Eldar. "SaqarTvelos eklesiis sicmindeebi" [Relics of the Church of Georgia]. Tbilisi: *Akhali Iverioni*, 2007.

4. Bubulashvili, Eldar. Ghvtismshoblis tsilkhvedri iveria (istoriul-tskarotmcodneobiti analizi)[
5. Iberia, a Lot of the Holy Virgin (Analyses of the Historical and Source Data)], in Logos, no 8. (2014): 196.
6. Chelidze, Edisher. Ghvtismshoblisadmi kartlis tsilkhvdomilobis shesaxeb [About Kartli Being a Lot of the Holy Virgin], in Logos, no 8. (2014):60.
7. Dimitry of Rostov. *Zhitia Sviatix* [Lives of Saints],
8. https://azbyka.ru/otechnik/Dmitrij_Rostovskij/zhitija-svjatykh/672, retrieved on 01.10.2017.
9. Eliava, Givi. "Chkondidi-Martvili (istoriuli mimoxilva)"[Chkondidi-Martvili (Historical Review)]. Tbilisi: *Tsodna*, 1962.
10. Ghambashidze, Nino."Tsminda Davit Garejeltan dakavshirebuli dghesastsaulebi"[Feasts Connected with St. David of Gareja]. In Sakartvelos Sidzveleni [Georgian Antiquities], no 4-5, (2003): 49.
11. Ghambashidze Nino, Ethnographical expedition in Senaki-Martvili region, 2006, manuscript.
12. Kartlis Tskhovreba [Life of Kartli], I, edited by Kaukhchishvili Svimon. Tbilisi: *Metsniereba,* 1955.
13. Kobiashvili, Malkhaz. "Mimosvla andria motsiqulisa" [Journeys of St. Andrew the Disciple].
14. Tbilisi: St. Andrew the First-Called Georgian University of the Patriarchate of Georgia, 2008.
15. Mashurko, M. "Predania osnovania Martvilskogo monastyria" [Legends of the Founding of the Martvili Monastery]. In SMOMPK [Collection of materials on the Description of Localities and Tribes of the Caucasus], no 18, III, (1894): 376-377.
16. Meghvinetkhutsesov, Dimitri. "Chiakokonoba" [Tchiakokonoba]. In newspaper Droeba, no 3, (1872): 3.
17. "Moktsevai Kartlisai"[Conversion of Kartli]. Ed. Aleksidze, Zaza. Tbilisi: Patriarchate of Georgia, 2007.
18. Natroev, Anton. "Mtskheta and its Cathedral Svetitskhoveli" [Mtskheta I ego sobor Svetitskhoveli]. Tiflis: Kozlovski'a Typography, 1900.
19. Prince Teimuraz. "Istoria Iberiisa" [History of Iberia (Georgia)]. Saint Petersburg, 1848.
20. "Rai mislenni". [Mental Paradise]. Typography of The Iviron Monastery, 1658,
21. http://www.vnikitskom.ru/antique/auction/16/5325/, retrieved on 01.10.2017.
22. Sabinin, Mikheil. "Sakartvelos Samotkhe [Paradise of Georgia]." Petersburg: Typography of the Emperor's Academy of Sciences, 1882.
23. Shatberdis Krebuli [Shatberdi Callection], ed. Giunashvili Elguja, Gigineishvili Bakar, (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1979), 320-355.
24. Trofimov, Aleksandr. Raduisa blagaia vratarnitsa...Raskazi ob iverskoi Bozhiei Materi [Rejoice Gracious Panagia Portaitissa...Stories about The Icon of the Iviron Theotokos]. (Moscow: Ruski Khronograph, 1997), 6-7.

25. Tsintsadze, Kalistrate. “Qashvetis cm. giorgis eklesia tbilisshi” [Kashveti St. Giorgi Church in Tbilisi].” Ed. Kavtaria, Mikheil. Tbilisi: *Kandeli,* 1994.
26. Unknown author. “Ninos tskhovreba” [Nino's life]. In Georgian Prose, book I, 209. Tbilisi: *Sabchota Sakartvelo,* 1991.
27. Unknown author. In newspaper Novoe obozrenie, no 2519, (1891): 3.

"A GENDER TRANSCENDENCE" THE WOMAN IN JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S EPISTLES TO WOMEN

Lamprini Papadimitriou

Aim

The aim of this paper, which is part of an extensive research, is to present how the feminine gender was represented in John Chrysostom's theology by analyzing the epistles that he had sent to "Women". In order to support this analysis, I will use related parts of his homilies, which refer to women, and other secondary sources, in a way that the reader can clearly understand how Chrysostom viewed women. We will find out how the ideal woman is constructed through these letters according to the ideals or virtues attributed to these women. The gender for Chrysostom, as we will see, seems to be something constructive and not static. Chrysostom's characterization by many scholars[1] as non-friendly to women made me wonder what would be the best material for examination if not the epistles to women.

Procedure

The research is divided into three parts. In the first part, there will be a historical analysis of the background. In the second part, I will elaborate on the letters addressed to women as a corpus, dividing them according to the location of the addressees into three parts. In the third part, I focus on some virtues which either seemed of great importance in order to reach to a conclusion on the issue of gender, or were very common in the majority of the epistles. The third part is of great importance as each subchapter is a separate unit. Gender is examined under many terms. Intersectionality lies on issues like gender and spirituality, askesis[2] and virginity, gender and social status and wealth, gender and freedom to speak and literacy, gender and appearance. The truth is that we will see more than these combinations that result indirectly, like social status and literacy.

Material

For this research, I came close to theological texts that are representative of the 4th century writings. Each one could be examined separately and autonomously. They are rich in theological ideals that every Christian believer should have and they are in close relation to the content of the epistles; even the title of each homily is most

[1] Mayer, John Chrysostom and women revisited, 211-213.

[2] "The Greek askēsis and literally means exercise, practice, or training. In the early Christian church askēsis referred to the study of the sacred scriptures" http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9780470670606.wbecc0089/abstract;jsessionid=6B3542985A0B344410546422156C3192.fo1t02?userIsAuthenticated=false&deniedAccessCustomisedMessage

of the time equivalent to some virtues attributed to the women addressees, like love, virginity, patience, charity, prudence and more, something that helped to the limitation of the material and to avoid getting lost in Chrysostom's wider theology. These homilies set the basis for the extensive analysis of the epistles' content in a comparative way.

Previous scholarship

Scholars' sensitivity to theology and their indirect characterization of Chrysostom as women-friendly or the opposite is a problem. My distinction from the previous scholars is that I examine a specific group of epistles. The historical, social and religious background is necessary for a better understanding, but it is not a prerequisite for my analysis. The innovation of the subject is traced on the fact that the previous scholars stood only to general conclusions over some of these epistles. On the other hand, each subchapter of my research, dealing with each ideal and each virtue will be analyzed solemnly in every epistle that was sent to a female addressee.

Method and Theory

The creation of an interdisciplinary field of anthropological, social and religious studies comes as prerequisite for the study of women as a social 'gender' into a religious society.

I base my survey on establishing an idea over the background, societal, religious and historical, so that the reader understands why the analyzed aspects are worthy of examination. With the term intersectionality, I mean that I will examine their gender or role with other aspects and through this, I will try to figure out the terms under which a woman could earn equality in Christianity and also how she should act or react after taking into account many sections of her nature and life. Why Chrysostom kept this communication and how can we justify his concern for their happiness, health, resistance to temptations and his support to the maintenance of their ascetic life? From all the above it is obvious that all the referred theories are of great importance for my analysis.

Building the background of my research

❖ *The historical environment*

It is noteworthy that the majority of his homilies are dated during his time in Antioch. Chrysostom is invited to Constantinople as bishop of the capital at 398 A.D. In Constantinople the political instability, the passion for power, the problematic relation between state and church and the conflicting interests resulted in Chrysostom's exile under bad circumstances[1].

[1] Moulard, Saint Jean Crysostome. Sa vie-son oeuvre.

Chrysostom's participation in the ecclesiastical matters resulted in the organization of the clergy, mostly spiritually, and he 'used' beneficiary the institution of deaconesses. The women that surrounded him worked hard to restore the social moralism and provision, reorganize the spiritual life against every temptation and extend philanthropy. His cooperation with women seemed meaningful to him. He recognized their effort, work and influence and their existence seemed to be a priority of his pastoral concern.

A crucial personality in Chrysostom's life was Eudoxia[2], wife of emperor Arcadius that ruled during 395-408, who managed to cooperate with Chrysostom's enemy, Theopfilus of Alexandreia and work together in order to exile him. And they managed that. Chrysostom was captured at 404 A.D and after eleven weeks he reached the destination of exile, Cucusus near Cappadocia and Armenia. As it is revealed by his personal narratives through the letters, his health was in a bad condition. He reports that to his female friends, but also asks for their health, mostly psychological, after his exile and the sadness that it brings to them. He never stops working in a supportive way, even verbally, for their encouragement towards the Church needs[3].

❖ *The female gender in early antiquity*

According to the Christian tradition

According to the Bible, "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him, male and female he created them" (καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ᾽ εἰκόνα Θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς)[4].Eve would have the same position as Adam, the companion and colleague, such as the partner and heir of the heavenly kingdom. But Eve dragged Adam into sin and fall after she was the first to be dragged by temptation, resulting in her subordination to man. As Chrysostom notes, "before the disobedience, woman was equal to man" (πρὸ τῆς παρακοῆς ὁμότιμος ἦν τῷ ἀνδρί)[5].

According to the patristic theology

The Church Fathers' ambition was to establish a common view over the Christian society that the virtue that can be obtained by everyone, no matter the gender, could elevate the soul in a higher level[6]. Its recognition, such as the reward from God, is not given based on gender. The motif of spirituality, in contrast to body

[2]Wood, John Chrysostom: His Life, Legacy and Influence, 24.

[3] The Dialogue of Palladius Concerning the Life of Chrysostom, PG 47:5-82.

[4] Genesis 1, 27.

[5] Homily 4 on Genesis, PG 54: 596.

[6] Ibid, 154.

and its abilities, powers or deprivations, comes on surface again since, under this prism, every man or woman gets the same reward[7].

According to John Chrysostom's theology

John Chrysostom acted in a period and society that can be characterized as patriarchal, and the content of his letters will contribute to the appreciation of the women's position in society for Chrysostom. The abolition of the gender discrimination is set as a basic principle when women are baptized and inherit the Christian way of life[8]. With his references to holy women, but also the virtues that he attributes to the addresses of the epistles under the exact social background and the type of communication we can draw safe conclusions on the way gender worked for him as a bishop and church representative and his theology.

According to Saint Paul as Chrysostom's instructor

After the many references to Paul's name and preaching in Chrysostom's epistles, we couldn't neglect his influence on Chrysostom's point of view. Thus, the woman, who devotes herself to the ascetic life, seems to live under no male guardian and is working for the sake and expansion of Christianity, subordinating her nature by herself and then she can compete with man in spirit. Gender seems to play no role in spiritual matters. According to Paul, gender is not considered a factor of discrimination in front of God. The value of soul, the power of virtue and the possibility of salvation are not eliminated by gender[9].

The corpus of letters

- ***The letters***

During the last period of his exiled life, Chrysostom resorted to the writing of epistles. Being literate, he knew well how to make it a great tool of communication and it replaced the physical contact with friends or colleagues for solving personal and ecclesiastical issues, whether on personal, exhortative or supportive aspects, and their spontaneity is useful for our analysis resulting in safer arguments. It is also referred that Olympias was one of them that contributed to the collection of his works.[10] The addressees were deaconesses, widows or virgins and it is noteworthy that these women contributed to the establishment of multitasking environment around Chrysostom, related to philanthropy, social and pastoral work.

[7] Basil the Great, PG 30:33, 36: (Ομότιμον τό κατ'εἰκόνα εἰλήφασιν, ὁμότιμον ἔχουσιν καί τήν ἀρετή καί τήν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων ἐπίδειξιν).

[8] Gal.3:27-29.

[9] Gal.3:28 "Οὐκ ἐνι ἄρσεν καί θήλυ".

[10] Τζωρτζάτος, Ιωάννης ο Χρυσόστομος επί τη βάσει των επιστολών αυτού, 26-27.

According to region

There are three obvious groups of women addresses according to region, Antioch, Constantinople and Rome, all three strategic places for the expansion of Christianity.
A notice that might be realistic at this point is that all these women that are receiving a letter with their friends could be female leaders of a Christian group or abbesses in a small monastic sisterhood.

According to Chrysostom's language

The form that he uses to address to them can be explained as a type of respect to these women. The epithets show how respectful they are because of their loyalty to their work and him, penitence, decency, honesty, piety, hope, gleefulness and in general the conquest of virtue. The superlative form of these epithets means that they have obtained these virtues in their highest level: the most honored[11], the most devout[12], the most decent[13], the kindest[14], and the most 'manly' soul[15]. There are other two epithets in superlative that Chrysostom uses only to the letters to Olympias: the most respectful [16]and the most God loving[17].With all these epithets he is praising them for their offer to Christianity.

According to the social profile of the recipients

In order to better understand the place of these women in Chrysostom's life and why they were so valuable to him, I considered necessary to make a reference to that and see if their social role was a matter that Chrysostom took into account.

a. Deaconesses

The importance of the institution lies on the fact that two ecumenical Councils take it into account, so that they entail it into their canons. At first, the Council of Nicaea in 325 A.D. stands on ministers-deaconesses and defines that they must be

[11] 'τιμιωτάτη': Epistle 168, PG 52: 709, Epistle 103, PG 52:662-663, Epistle 178, PG 52: 713, Epistle 191, PG 52:718-719.

[12] 'εὐλαβεστάτη': Epistle 33, PG 52: 629, Epistle 39, PG 52: 651-652, Epistle 57, PG 52: 640-641, Epistle 13, PG 52: 660-661, Epistle 103, PG 52: 662-663.

[13] 'κοσμιωτάτη': Epistle 18, PG 52: 623, Epistle 33, PG 52: 629, Epistle 39, PG 52: 651-652, Epistle 43, PG 52: 633, Epistle 57, PG 52: 640-641, Epistle 13, PG 52: 660-661, Epistle 19, PG 52: 661, Epistle 191: PG 52: 718-719.

[14] 'εὐγενεστάτη': Epistle 18, PG 52: 623, Epistle 43, PG 52: 663, Epistle 19, PG 52: 661, Epistle 168, PG 52: 709.

[15] 'ἀνδρειοτάτη ψυχή': Epistle 104, PG 52: 663-664.

[16] 'αἰδεσιμωτάτη': Epistle 1, PG 52: 556.

[17] ' θεοφιλεστάτη': Epistle 1, PG 52:556, Epistle 3b, PG 52:573, Epistle 5b, PG 52: 597, Epistle 8, PG 52:608, Epistle 11, PG 52: 609.

rebaptized and re-ordinated, in order to be part of the office. In addition, the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D. sets the age of forty as the minimum limit for ordination[18]. Female deacons were not just chosen and ordained by the bishop, but they were also kind of dependent to him. Their ministry is not only related to the bishop but also the fact that their actions were constructed under a certain ecclesiastical prism, and they are testified by the accountability of their ministries to him. Deaconesses were the leaders of the female segment of the congregation and the bishop was the 'head' of the whole community. Thus, a woman, who wanted to talk to the bishop, couldn't do that without the mediation of the deaconess[19].

b. Widows and virgins

There is no direct addressing to women as widows and virgins in the epistles. The information from the secondary sources reveals that among them there were widows and virgins. Ford informs us that widows and virgins were not ordained groups but they got their title through a personal vow of participation[20]. The absence of ordination doesn't mean that they weren't accepted by the Church, but instead it seemed that their work conduced well to the communities' gatherings. In contrast to deaconesses that were considered a clerical office, widows and virgins didn't receive the same status[21].

❖ ***The basis***

Taking into account what we have already mentioned about Chrysostom's theology and the belief that Eve was responsible for the Fall and all its consequences, we note once again that he didn't give any significance to someone's condition after the Fall in the epistles, instead he supports a great policy on how it is possible to return to the angelic life. [22] Chrysostom bases each one's way of life on willingness. It is the individual's choice for whether he returns to the equal place before the Fall or if he remains in the unequal.

---

[18] Zagano, "The Question Of Governance And Ministry For Women", 354.Also: Miller, Women in Early Christianity, 62. And Macy, The Hidden History of Women's ordination, Female Clergy in the Medieval West, 67. For the requirements needed for ordination see: Karidoyanes Fitzgerald, Women Deacons in the Orthodox Church: Called to Holiness and Ministry, 50.

[19] Karidoyanes Fitzgerald, Women Deacons in the Othodox Church: Called to Holiness and Ministry, 22. See also: Perry, "Phoebe of Cenchreae and "Women" of Ephesus: "Deacons" in the earliest Churches",14, the author makes it clear that a deacon-no matter of which gender- couldn't act by his own will, but he acted under the authority of the superior.

[20]Ford, Women and Men in the Early Church: The Full Views of St. John Chrysostom, 224.

[21]Carroll, "Women and Ministry", 669-674. Their power was limited in the practical work and offerings and it seemed that they had no legislative authority or the sacramental system, but as Ford in page 224 of Ford, Women and Men in the Early Church: The Full Views of St. John Chrysostom, is referring that they had a great contribution in the part of the praying. Braun in Braun, "Body, Character and The Problem Of Femaleness In Early Christian Discourse", 112 states that: widows and virgins were effectively managed by men for whom they served as a holy harem that catered in various ways to men affairs.

[22] Schu¨ssler Fiorenza, Searching the Scriptures, 54. Fiorenza presents the view of Church on women and brings up the bad consequences of Eve's mistake.

The task of the spiritual reformation and the indoctrination to all the following virtues seemed as a way of liberation and the subordination of the body to the mind. Chrysostom's aim was to help these women succeed in spiritual completion and disentangle them from their bodies. The whole system on which he worked as a preacher, bishop and even in exile reveals that the reformation of society and the women's salvation could depend on askesis.

Because of the short extent of this paper I will refer only to one epistle a time, just to introduce the reader to Chrysostom's exact words. The selection was made based on the clearest example. In most of the epistles though the same words are referred, so there is no a specific reason of the exact quote.

Love

Love is appeared as a cohesive bond contributed to the coiling of all these women around Chrysostom but also around a religious cycle under the same goal. Love is an evidence for the care for each other's pathological and psychological health, the support to other's difficult situations, but also as we saw love leads to a specific behavior supporting the good and the fair. At last, love has no gender as it is a virtue attributed to each person with no exception.

Κἂν γὰρ τῷ σώματι κεχωρισμένοι ὦμεν, ἀλλά τῇ τῆς ἀγάπης ἀλύσει μένομεν πρός αὐτόν συνδεδεμένοι.

Even if we are separated in bodies, we stay bond to him with the love's chain[23].

Patience

Chrysostom is making the point that patience is a conquest of spiritual wisdom and a virtue that offers them recognition and strength, besides the fact that it encourages them. Likewise, with love, as we already saw, we could also argue at this point once again that Chrysostom recognized women's equality to men under the terms of spirituality. Patience is a way to overcome sadness, stand against misfortunes and resist temptations. Patience is a common virtue for both genders, though in the epistles patience is presented as the means to surpass the weakness, most probably the weakness of the feminine gender.

Οὕτω γὰρ καί ταῦτα εὐκαταγώνιστα ἔσται, καί ὁ ἐκ τῆς τοῦτων ὑπομονῆς σοι τικτόμενος καρπός ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς δαψιλῆς ἔσται καί πολύ μειζόνων τῶν παθημάτων.

So these will be worth of fighting and the fruit from your patience to these will be abundant in heaven and much more than the misfortunes[24].

[23] Epistle 76, PG 52: 649.

[24] Epistle 76, PG 52: 649.

'Ανδρεία'

We conclude that the deprivations of women and the social belief that the male gender was superior and virtuous promoted the establishment of andreia as a characteristic of ascetic women with the hope of an equal confrontation with men and infringement of their natural inferiority. This fact, besides that it is traced with many Church Fathers of early Christianity, it is also imprinted in the epistles, but to a limited extent. Chrysostom seems to recognize their valuable work in spiritual matters and struggle on the Church's difficulties. What is noteworthy is that he attributes it only to women leaders.

Τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ κολοφὼν τοῦ στεφάνου, τοῦτο ἡ κορωνὶς τῆς ἀρετῆς, τοῦτο ἡ σαφὴς τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀπόδειξις, τοῦτο ἡ ἀκριβεστάτη τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπίτασις.

For this is the greatest of the rewards, the crown of the virtue, the exact proof of *andreia*, the stretching of philosophy[25].

Happiness and health

The reasons for their confrontation may vary, but still we don't know for sure if this interest was based only on an emotional bond with them. His kind request to be informed about their health could be real but also misleading. At this point, I would like to connect the content of this chapter to the others, especially the financial support and their social status. Could we assume that this eagerness to know about their health and the effort to get them out of their misery is a well-structured strategy of a great rhetor in order to maintain his networks while he was in exile? Could it also be a way to lead them towards asceticism and support the benefits of it by showing them the significance of being happy and defeat of the Church's difficulties?

Ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθυμίας αὐτῆς, ὀλίγα τινὰ περὶ αὐτῆς φιλοσοφήσαντες, καὶ δείξαντες ὅπως βαρὺ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ἐπαχθές. Ἡ γὰρ ἀθυμία, ψυχῶν ἐστι βασανιστήριον χαλεπόν, ὀδύνη τις ἄῤῥητος καὶ δίκη δίκης ἁπάσης καὶ τιμωρίας πικροτέρα.

From this sadness, a few things about it have they philosophized, and shown that it is a heavy and difficult thing. For the sadness of the souls is a difficult torture, an unspoken affliction and judgement of every judgement and the most bitter punishment[26].

[25] Epistle 3ζ, PG 52: 579.

[26] Epistle 3α, PG 52:572, Chrysostom is emphasizing the effort that is needed to get over the sadness saying that the tyranny of athymia might seem to be destroyed but there is still a long way till happiness. (Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα κατελύσαμεν τῆς ἀθυμίας, καὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ταύτης κατεσκάψαμεν διὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γραμμάτων·... καὶ ἐν πολλῇ σε καταστήσῃ τῇ εὐθυμίᾳ). Epistle 3β, PG 52:573.

Literacy and freedom to speak

If we stand to Rouseau's opinion that the women could contribute to the Church's expansion then we can't defy the significance of their literacy. [27] Furthermore, using epistles as a primary source it is easy for someone to take it as a fact. How could they manage that kind of communication if they couldn't read or write? Does this mean that the absence of women's writings says something about their literacy[28]?

But the issue goes much further from just reading and writing when we talk about women that were members of institutions, wealthy and of higher status, or they were leaders of smaller or extended communities or even had diplomatic connections and a social network that they had to maintain as part of their religious office.

Διά ταῦτα σκιρτῶμεν...τήν ἐλευθεροστομίαν, τήν παρρησίαν τήν ὑψηλήν, δι'ἧς κατήσχυνας μέν τούς ὑπεναντίους, καιρίαν δέ δέδωκας τῷ διαβόλῳ πληγήν.

For these we are happy...the freedom to speak, the high *parrhsi*a, with which you dishonored the opponents, and you gave fatal wound to the devil[29].

Appearance

Chrysostom paid a lot of attention to the issue of women's appearance. Taking into account the ideal of an ascetic life, the majority of the advices are addressed to virgin women. He does not oblige them to follow his dress code, but his determinative words using rhetorical questions lead to their persuasion. It seems that appearance on the one hand determines the gender and subordinates it is falling into the temptation of embellishment and on the other hand Chrysostom offers an opportunity to diminish it by following a modest and decent appearance which has multiple effects. This modest appearance neutralizes gender under the specter of asceticism, it is convincing for the audience since these women were institutionalized by the Church and obtained social power as Church representatives and also eliminated every passion that originated by them but also the public.

...οὐχ ὡραϊζομένη, ἀλλά νεανιευομένη, οὐ καλλωπιζομένη, ἀλλ' ὁπλιζομένη.

...not beautifying herself, but making herself younger, not embellishing herself, but arming herself[30].

Charity

Chrysostom is not asking for financial support through the epistles. Secondary sources inform us that Chrysostom was receiving help from his supporters, as well as

[27] Rousseau, "'Learned Women' And the Development of A Christian Culture In Late Antiquity 1", 116-147.

[28] Cloke, This Female Man of God' Women and spiritual power in the patristic age, AD 350–450, 9. Cloke is reassuring that "The absence of written evidence by women is not to say that they did not contribute to the intellectual life of the period".

[29] Epistle 94, PG 52: 657-659.

[30] Epistle 2θ, PG 52: 566

we saw in the two first epistles to men addresses. The ascetical way of life and the ideal of voluntary poverty are also reflected in his homily about charity. Thus, Chrysostom was rejected the accumulation of wealth in one person, and he was supported its disposition for the common good. The fact that he felt shame every time he was received charity himself, as Palladius notes, is evidence that he didn't try to distract benefits for his own needs but as a matter of fact he aimed to the support of the Church.

Δικαίως τούς τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τιμῶσα νόμους, τό δέ αὐτό δή τοῦτο πάλιν ποίησον, ἔνθα καί αὐτή τό πλέον καρπώση μᾶλλον ἡ ἐκείνος.

Fairly you honor the laws of *philanthropy*, and this do it again, as either it will give you back fruits or he[31].

Virginity

Virginity is an ideal of high importance for the one who would like to follow an ascetic life. In general, it is for both genders but as we saw that a virgin is parallelized to Christ's pride we can assume that mostly it refers to women, besides the fact that the homily on virginity was addressed to the Antiochene virgins[32]. The virgin supersedes her nature and much more her gender which as it seems comes in a second place and by taking into account that spiritually all people is equal. As it is inclined that virginity is more a spiritual than bodily condition, we can't exclude the virtues of patience or resistance to temptations that are attributed to the other women besides the clear deposition of the virtue in the letter to Olympias.

Ἤκουσας γὰρ μου πολλάκις καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ διαλεγομένου, τὶς ποτὲ ἐστι τῆς παρθενίας ὁ ὅρος, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἂν κωλυθείης ποτὲ εἶς τε τὸν ἐκεῖνον καταλεγῆναι χορόν.

For you heard me many times privately and publicly talking, what is the meaning of virginity, and you should never be prevented to take part in that dance[33].

Conclusion

The approach of gender through the epistles of John Chrysostom to women, concerns mainly the ideals and virtues that he attributed to them either exclusively to one or more or generally to the majority of the women. The obviation of the gender is proven under the status of spirituality that sets men and women as equals. The possession of the virtue of the soul offers to these women the possibility to reject every kind of inferiority or discrimination that they could face. Furthermore, if we observe the most common virtues- love, patience, honesty, hope, prudence, decency,

[31] Epistle 117, PG 52: 672-673.

[32] Pak-Wah, ¨John Chrysostom and the hermeneutics of exemplar portraits¨, 193.

[33] Epistle 2δ, PG 52:560. Castelli, "Virginity and its Meaning for Women's Sexuality in Early Christianity", 72. "Olympias imitates the lovers (erastes) of Christ, burning with ardor, and John Chrysostom s lessons are said to light the fire of divine love (thews eros) in the virgins of Olympias' convent".

piety, harmony, andreia and virginity- we understand that all this sets the framework on which these women were instructed to follow.

In the introduction, we saw that there was the belief by other scholars that Chrysostom was a misogynist because he has recognized women's inferiority, something that is already proven in the epistles. On the other hand, we saw that his effort to get them out of their inferiority leading them from an ontological inferiority to a spiritual superiority could be considered an evidence of his feministic tendencies. In any case, I don't intend to characterize him in some way, but to prove that gender for Chrysostom was not something static and these women gave us the image of the 'ideal woman' for Chrysostom.

References

1. Braun, Willi. "Body, Character and The Problem of Femaleness¨. *Early Christian Discourse. Religion and Theology* 9, no. 1 (2002): 108-117.
2. Carroll, Elizabeth. "Women and Ministry". *Theological Studies* 36, no. 4 (1975): 660-687.
3. Castelli, Elizabeth. "Virginity and its Meaning for Women's Sexuality in Early Christianity". In *A Feminist Companion to Patristic Literature*, edited by A.J. Levine,72-100. London: T &T Clark, 2008.
4. Cloke, Gillian. *This Female Man of God. Women and spiritual power in the patristic age, AD 350–450 (*Routledge, London and New York, 1995).
5. Ford, David. *Women and Men in the Early Church: The Full Views of St. John Chrysostom* (South Canaan, Pa: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 1996).
6. Gary, Macy. *The Hidden History of Women's ordination*, *Female Clergy in the Medieval West* (Oxford University Press, 2007).
7. Karidoyanes Fitzgerald, Kyriaki. *Women Deacons in the Othodox Church: Called to Holiness and Ministry* (Holly Cross Orthodox Press, Massachusetts, 2006).
8. Lai Pak-Wah, ¨John Chrysostom and the hermeneutics of exemplar portraits¨, (Durham E-Theses. *Etheses.Dur.Ac.Uk*. Last modified 2016. Accessed May 27, 2016). http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/425/.
9. Mayer, Wendy. ¨John Chrysostom and women revisited¨. In *Men and Women in the Early Christian Centuries*, edited by W. Mayer and I.J. Elmer, Early Christian Studies 18, Strathfield: St Paul's Publications, 2014.
10. Miller, Patricia. *Women in Early Christianity, Translations from Greek Texts (*The Catholic University of America Press, 2005).
11. Moulard, Anatole. *Saint Jean Crysostome. Sa vie-son oeuvre* (Paris, 1941).
12. Perry, Gregory. "Phoebe of Cenchreae and "Women" of Ephesus: "Deacons" in the earliest Churches", *Presbyterion 36*, no.1 (Spring 2010): 9-36.
13. Rousseau, Philip. "'Learned Women' And the Development of A Christian Culture In Late Antiquity 1". *Symbolae Osloenses* 70, no. 1 (1995): 116-147.
14. Schüssler Fiorenza, Elisabeth. *Searching the Scriptures: A Feminist Introduction* (The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1997).

15. *The Dialogue Of Palladius Concerning The Life Of Chrysostom*. Translated by Herbert Moore. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921.
16. Wood, Darin M. *John Chrysostom: His Life, Legacy and Influence*. http://www.christiancadre.org/member_contrib/Chrysostum%20--%20Wood/ p.24. Pdf : (accessed Jun 1st, 2011).
17. Zagano, Phyllis. "The Question of Governance And Ministry For Women". *Theological Studies* 68, no. 2 (2007): 348-367.
18. Τζωρτζάτος, Βαρνάβας. *Ιωάννης ο Χρυσόστομος επί τη βάσει των επιστολών αυτού,* εν Αθήναις 1952, Phd thesis.

"DRUNKEN DEEP/OF ALL THE BLESSEDNESS OF SLEEP": GERALDINE THE TEMPTRESS

Tarik Ziyad Gulcu

Samuel Taylor Coleridge's essays, writings and literary works contribute to the appreciation of his outlook on life and humankind. Coleridge's view of man can be related to his religious beliefs. As a signification of his strong link with Christianity, Coleridge puts emphasis on the temporariness of the physical world and its pleasures while he also indicates the permanence of life after death. For Coleridge, even if man repents of his sinful acts, he still has the tendency to commit vices and follies. Thus, as a religious poet, Coleridge warns human beings about their fall as a consequence of their indulgence in the material world and he expresses this warning in his various literary works. However, among his works, "Christabel" invites reading as an epitome of Coleridge's anxieties about humankind. In reflecting his critical outlook on man's tendency to commit vices and follies, Coleridge benefits from John Milton's account of Original Sin in *Paradise Lost* and the female vampire as one of the elements of Gothic literature. The combination of the concept "Original Sin" with the employment of supernatural character and elements in "Christabel" can be considered an innovative approach to understanding Coleridge's anxieties regarding humanity.

Coleridge's emphasis on the permanence of the abstract and the temporariness of the concrete in "A Chapter of Requests" can be judged as a representation of his view of life:

> The *phenomena (the material)* most wholly disappear, and the laws alone *(the formal)* must remain. Thence it comes, that in nature itself the more the principle of law breaks forth, the more does the *husk* drop off, the phenomena themselves become more spiritual and at length cease altogether in our consciousness. [...]. In the appearances of magnetism all trace of matter is lost, and of the phenomena of gravitation, which not a few among the most illustrious Newtonians have declared no otherwise comprehensible than as an immediate spiritual influence, there remains nothing but its law, the execution of which on a vast scale is the mechanism of the heavenly motions. The theory of natural philosophy would then be completed, when all nature was demonstrated to be identical in essence with that, which in its highest known power exists in man as intelligence and self-consciousness; when the heavens and earth shall declare not only the power of their maker, but the glory and the

> presence of their God, even as he appeared to the great prophet during the vision of the mount in the skirts of his divinity.[1] (138)

As understood from these statements, contrary to materialist approach, the essence and laws, not the matters and phenomena, become permanent. Since the physical materials, which the human eye beholds, inevitably lose their existence, the prioritization of spirit and law reinforce the impact of the abstract, not the concrete beings, on humanity. Considered in this sense, religious beliefs favour the spiritual and oppose the materialist world, since they claim the permanence of life after death as well as the temporariness of the physical world. Thus, as a religious poet, Coleridge expresses his belief in the supreme and eternal power of Christian God in "Opinions in Religion and Politics" as follows:

> The question then concerning our faith in the existence of a God, not only as the ground of the universe by his essence, but as its maker and judge by his wisdom and holy will, appeared to stand thus. The sciential reason, the objects of which are purely theoretical, remains neutral, as long as its name and semblance are not usurped by the opponents of the doctrine. But it then becomes an effective ally by exposing the false show of demonstration, or by evincing the equal demonstrability of the contrary from premises equally logical. The understanding meantime suggests, the analogy of experience facilitates, the belief. Nature excites and recalls it, as by a perpetual revelation. Our feelings almost necessitate it; and the law of conscience peremptorily commands it. The arguments, that [sic] at all apply to it, are in its favour; and there is nothing against it, but its own sublimity.[2] (106)

The finitude of matters, physical objects and even scientific findings are described as the proof of God's existence and status as the Supreme Being. Although science is rational, the theories in this field can be replaced by a new theory or approach. In this sense, though Coleridge does not oppose scientific point of view, he thinks that this approach is somehow inevitably finite. His basis of this argument on the Nature and the feelings of people reinforce his approach idealising Christian God's superiority because of its eternality. Coleridge's claim that men's feelings necessitate God and Nature's excitement by its existence can be judged as a signification of an effort to acquire an awareness of the divine being. Coleridge's comparison between Philosophy and Truth in "Literary Aristocracy" is thus arguably an epitome of this quest: "The term, Philosophy, defines itself as an affectionate seeking after the truth;

[1] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "A Chapter of Requests", in Biographia Literaria, intr. Arthur Symons. (London: J. M. Dent, 1939), 126-153.
[2] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Opinions in Religion and Politics", in Biographia Literaria, intr. Arthur Symons. (London: J. M. Dent, 1939), 100-118.

but Truth is the correlative of Being"[3] (72). For Coleridge, it is possible for man to reach this divine Truth and he explains it as follows in "A Chapter of Requests": "The postulate of philosophy and at the same time the test of philosophic capacity, is no other than the heaven-descended KNOW THYSELF!"[4] (136). Self-awareness, which refers to an individual's recognition of his/her capabilities, indulgences and will, contributes to the appreciation of divine power and avoidance of entrapment by worldly pleasures. In Coleridge's address to his readers in the preface to *Aids to Reflection*, "you are likewise born in a Christian land; and Revelation has provided for you new subjects for reflection, and new treasures of knowledge, never to be unlocked by him who remains self-ignorant. Self-knowledge is the key to this casket; and by reflection alone can it be obtained" [5] (116). As understood from these discourses, contemplation is the basic key to gain an awareness of the superiority of Christian God and it contributes to self-awareness in humankind. Man can achieve this by considering his actions, behaviours and words and their probable consequences during his interaction with individuals in social area.

Coleridge explains why he believes in the necessity for people's self-recognition in the seventh aphorism in "Moral and Religious Aphorisms" in the following words: "Worldly hopes are not living, but lying hopes; they die often before us, and we live to bury them, and see our own folly and infelicity in trusting to them; but at the utmost, they die with us when we die and can accompany us no further"[6] (161). In line with these statements, his following discourse in the tenth aphorism about worldly mirth is another example indicating the necessity for self-awareness due to the temporariness of life in the physical world: "Worldly mirth is so far from curing spiritual grief, that even worldly grief, where it is great and takes deep root, is not allayed but increased by it"[7] (162). For Coleridge, since the world is temporary, its products and pleasures are not eternal, either. Therefore, salvation depends on awareness and contemplation of divine wisdom and avoidance of the temporary world's pleasures. In this sense, Coleridge warns human beings about the basic cause of the indulgence in material world in the conclusion of *Aids to Reflection* as follows: "Materialism, conscious and avowed Materialism, is in ill repute"[8] (356).

Despite his warnings for the benevolence of mankind, Coleridge believes that man is a fallible being. He expresses this idea in relation to the doctrines of Christianity in "Confessio Fidei" as follows: "I believe, and hold it as the fundamental article of Christianity, that I am a fallen creature; that I am of myself capable of moral evil, but not of myself capable of moral good, and that an evil ground existed in my

[3] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Literary Aristocracy", in Biographia Literaria, intr. Arthur Symons (London: J. M. Dent, 1939), 71-82.
[4] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "A Chapter of Requests", in Biographia Literaria, intr. Arthur Symons. (London: J. M. Dent, 1939), 126-153.
[5] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Aids to Reflection", in The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol.1 (New York: 1853), 116-366.
[6] Ibid, 146-191.
[7] Ibid, 146-191.
[8] Ibid, 350-366.

will, previously to any given act, or assignable moment of time, in my consciousness. I am born a child of wrath"[9] (16).

Coleridge employs the metaphor "child of wrath" not only to depict himself but also mankind as a whole. He relates this metaphor to the concept of "sin", which he describes in the comment to the tenth aphorism on Original Sin as "an evil which has its ground or origin in the agent, and not in the compulsion of circumstances"[10] (271). People have their own free will, which helps individuals to act without feeling restriction. Thus, people's commission of sinful acts is based upon their own choice. In Coleridge's words in the commentary, sin is "spiritual evil: but the spiritual in man is the will"[11] (276). The human will can be tempted to the commission of sin by means of rhetoric. The enticement by a strong and persuasive language leads people to be tempted to worldly pleasures and hence get gradually alienated from their humane characteristics[12].

Coleridge's focus on temptation to worldly pleasures can be explained with the term "Original Sin". One of the earliest writers dealing with this term in English literature is Geoffrey Chaucer. In his *Canterbury Tales*, he refers to "Original Sin" in "The Pardoner's Tale" directly as follows:

O cursed gluttony, our first distress!
Cause of our first confusion, first temptation,
The very origin of our damnation,
Till Christ redeemed us with his blood again!
O infamous indulgence! Cursed stain
So dearly bought! And what has it been worth?
Gluttony has corrupted all the earth.
Adam, our father, and his wife as well,
From Paradise to labour and to Hell
Were driven for that vice, they were indeed.
While she and Adam fasted, so I read,
They were in Paradise; when he and she
Ate of the fruit of that forbidden tree
They were at once cast forth in pain and woe.[13] (245-246)

In English literature, John Milton provided a more detailed account of this concept in *Paradise Lost*. Milton's account starts with Satan's fall from Heaven because of his opposition to God. As the persona of the work, Milton explains the reason for this opposition as Satan's desire to acquire his status as a ruler, not a servant in the

[9] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Confessio Fidei", in The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol.5 (New York: 1853), 15-18.
[10] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Aids to Reflection", in The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol.1 (New York: 1853), 116-366.
[11] Ibid, 276.
[12] Further discussion of this argument can be found in the analysis of John Milton's Paradise Lost.
[13] Geoffrey Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales, translated into modern English by Nevill Coghill, (London: Penguin, 2003), 245-246.

following words: "To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:/Better to reign in Hell, then serve in Heav'n"[14] (Book I 262-263). As a result of this intention leading to his fall from God's service, the decision of Milton's Satan is to spread vices and follies and inhibit the decent or virtuous behaviours:

Fall'n Cherube, to be weak is miserable
Doing or Suffering: but of this be sure,
To do ought good never will be our task,
But ever to do ill our sole delight,
As being the contrary to his high will
Whom we resist. If then his Providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labour must be to pervert that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil:[15] (Book I 157-165)

As an indication of his decision to bring catastrophe to mankind, Satan sets out to tempt his victim, Eve, by means of flattering expressions: "O Sacred, Wise, and Wisdom-giving Plant,/Mother of Science"[16] (Book VIII 679-680). In addition to flattery, Satan also employs rhetoric effectively to achieve his end to cause humanity's fall. Despite God's prohibition of Adam and Eve from eating fruit from the Tree of Knowledge, Satan persuasively tempts Eve to break this divine law in the following lines:

Queen of this universe, doe not believe
Those rigid threats of Death; you shall not Die:
How should ye? By the Fruit? It gives you Life
To Knowledge? By the Threatner, look on mee,
Mee, who have touch'd and tasted, yet both live[17] (Book VIII 684-688)

As a result of Satan's employment of successful rhetoric, Eve's temptation in the following lines can be considered as an embodiment of the reason for man's fall from the Heavenly Kingdom: "An eager appetite, rais'd by the smell/So savorie of that Fruit, which with desire/[...]/Pausing a while, thus to her self she mus'd"[18] (Book VIII 740-744). Eating from the forbidden tree despite God's prohibition leads to the commission of the Original Sin and hence expulsion of mankind from the Heaven, working and trying to survive in the physical world.

In dealing mainly with the lifespan of man and his tendency to the exposition to vices and follies in relation to Milton's account of Original Sin, Coleridge employs "Nature" as a metaphor to represent man's personal characteristics and life in the

[14] John Milton, Paradise Lost, 7.
[15] ibid, 4.
[16] Ibid, 175.
[17] Ibid, 175.
[18] Ibid, 177.

world. In his comment on the sixth aphorism in "Moral and Religious Aphorisms", Coleridge defines Nature and deals with its traits as follows: "Whatever is representable in the forms of time and space, is Nature"[19] (154). This depiction reflects the traits of the physical nature, which is observable by human eye. Along with this definition, Coleridge relates the term "Nature" to the lifespan of mankind. In the twentieth aphorism in "Moral and Religious Aphorisms", this correlation is established in the following words:

> The difference is great in our natural life, in some persons especially; that they who in infancy were so feeble, and wrapped up as others in swaddling-clothes; yet afterwards come to excel in wisdom and in the knowledge of sciences, or to be commanders of great armies, or to be kings: but the distance is far greater [...] betwixt the small beginnings of grace, and our after perfection, that fullness of knowledge that we look for, and that crown of immortality which all they are born to who are born to God.[20] (170)

From Coleridge's perspective, man is an innocent being during his infancy because he does not get exposed to worldly pleasures and he does not have experiences in life. When he grows up, he learns about the worldly interests and as he gains experience, he turns out to prioritize his materialist interests. Man's exposition to material pleasures and worldly concerns somehow lead him to corrupt his innocent nature. Thus, experiences in life somehow make man alienate from his nature.

In addition to his writings, Coleridge's literary works also contribute to the appreciation of his viewpoint about life and humanity. In "Religious Musings", Coleridge describes the Earth as "this fleshly World"[21] (72). The depiction of the world as "fleshly" is an embodiment of the temporariness of the physical world people live in. Similarly, his view of life as "a vision shadowy of Truth"[22] (82) also indicates the temporariness of life in the Earth. Since the world and life in it are temporary, man cannot survive eternally. Coleridge emphasizes this idea in "The Knight's Tomb" as follows: "The Knight's bones are dust,/And his good sword rust;–/His soul is with the saints, I trust"[23] (276). Whether human beings live in prosperity or poverty, they inevitably experience death and start life after death, which is eternal. Thus, Coleridge warns mankind for the prioritization of life after death, not the physical world in "The Knight's Tomb". Since life and the world are not permanent, the pleasures and experiences in the Earth are temporary as well. Thus, as a sign of his anxieties about man's indulgence in these temporary pleasures,

[19] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Aids to Reflection", in The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol.1 (New York: 1853), 116-366.
[20] Ibid, 170.
[21] Line two, third stanza, "Religious Musings", in The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol. 7 (New York: 1853), 71-82.
[22] Ibid, line two, thirteenth stanza.
[23] Lines nine-eleven, "The Knight's Tomb", in The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol. 7 (New York: 1853), 276.

Coleridge favours the innocence of childhood in his works, particularly in "Frost at Midnight". The poem is set at a very cold and quiet midnight. The persona watches his baby sleeping and idealizes its innocence in the following words:

Dear Babe, that sleepest cradled by my side,
Whose gentle breathings, heard in this deep calm,
Fill up the interspersed vacancies
And momentary pauses of the thought![24] (177)

The persona's baby is not aware of the physical world and its experiences. His innocent sleeping represents the purity of man in his infancy. The persona is satisfied with the baby's innocence because of his lack of interaction with the enticements and pleasures of the physical world that lead to the fall of human beings. Despite his warning about the detrimental effects of indulgence in worldly pleasures, Coleridge thinks that mankind can still commit vices and follies. He explains how humanity can get exposed to sinful acts in "Progress of Vice" by personifying Vice as a female character in the following words: "Perchance she wears some softer Virtue's vest./By unperceiv'd degrees she tempts to stray,/Till far from Virtue's path she leads the feet away" [25] (52). For Coleridge, as a result of the temptation to material world's enticements, man experiences the following consequences: "Yet shame forbids return to peace,/And stern necessity will force/Still to urge on the desperate course"[26] (52). Man's continuation of commission of sinful acts despite his repentance for his vices and follies accounts for the self-contradictory situation of humanity. Coleridge best expresses this paradox in mankind in the old mariner's following repentance for killing the albatross in "The Rime of Ancient Mariner":

And I had done a hellish thing,
And it would work 'em woe:
For all averred, I had killed the bird
That made the breeze to blow.
Ah wretch! said they, the bird to slay,
That made the breeze to blow![27] (232)

The mariner's regret for killing the albatross and his awareness of his sinful act cannot contribute to the mariner's recovery from misfortunes. While Coleridge reflects man's paradox in relation to his continuation of vices and follies despite his awareness of the inevitable fall, he also warns humankind about the catastrophe they will encounter as a result of their temptation to temporary worldly pleasures. Among

[24] Line one to four, third stanza, "Frost at Midnight", in The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol. 7 (New York: 1853), 176-178.
[25] Lines six to eight, first stanza, "Progress of Vice", in The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol. 7 (New York: 1853), 52.
[26] Ibid, lines two to four, third stanza
[27] Second stanza, Part II, "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner", The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol. 7 (New York: 1853), 229-248.

the variety of his literary works, "Christabel" is an epitome of Coleridge's anxieties about man's fallibility due to indulgence in temporary world, since Coleridge both benefits from Milton's account of Original Sin and employs vampire as one of the major elements of Gothic technique to emphasize his critical outlook on humanity. Hence, the characteristics and significance of vampire in literature are worth mentioning to appreciate Coleridge's point of view regarding humanity in "Christabel".

Vampire is one of the most widely used images in English literature. It is defined as "the reanimated body of a dead person believed to come from the grave and suck the blood of persons [sic] asleep"[28] (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). In literature, vampire is mainly employed in the stories of fear and horror. Thus, it is one of the major elements of Gothic literature. Vampire as an image is epitomized in the novel genre, such as Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho* and Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. As a major characteristic of Gothic literature, the events in these novels are mainly set in "gloomy old castle or monastery" (Baldick 92) at midnight. The time and place where the events occur contribute to the horror effect of the works on the readers. Writers employ Gothic to reflect their anxieties about man's indulgence in materialist interests and alienation from his humane traits. The use of vampire as an image reinforces the effect of this concern about humankind.

Similar to the writers using Gothic technique, the Romantic poets reflect their concerns about humanity and they base their viewpoint on the innocence of man in childhood and their exposition to sinful acts by worldly experience. They emphasize their arguments mainly by their focus on rural life and the Nature. However, different from his contemporaries, Samuel Taylor Coleridge employs supernatural elements and vampire as a major image in his poem "Christabel". While "the male vampire story [is] a tale of domination, the female version [is] one of seduction" (Twitchell 39). Seduction, in its essence, includes temptation by an effective rhetoric. In biblical account, temptation and seduction are the bases of the Original Sin. Hence, the detailed analysis of "Christabel" in relation to Milton's interpretation of the concept of "Original Sin" will contribute to the appreciation of Coleridge's concern about the sinful trait of mankind and his fallibility by the employment of supernatural imagery throughout the work.

"Christabel" is a narrative poem. It deals with Christabel's temptation by Geraldine, a very beautiful noble lady who turns into a female vampire causing Christabel and her father's fall. In the first four lines, Coleridge employs Gothic technique at the very beginning of the work to reinforce his anxious outlook on man in relation to his fallibility due to his indulgence in worldly temptations:

'Tis the middle of the night by the castle clock,
And the owls have awakened the crowing cock;

[28] "Vampire," Merriam-Webster Dictionary, accessed July 3, 2017, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/vampire

Tu–whit! Tu–whoo!
And hark, again! the crowing cock.
How drowsily it crew.[29] (188)

In Jack Stilinger's words, "in [...] 'Christabel' [...], the most important action takes place in and just outside a medieval castle or manor house, in the middle of the night, in chilly weather. Owls and dogs [...] are part of the setting, as is the frequently mentioned moonlight" (14). Parallel to Stilinger's arguments, midnight, castle, the howling of the owls are the images that contributes to the reinforcement of fear and suspense in the readers. While these images strengthen the Gothic effect, they also help readers to appreciate the characteristics of the setting where the protagonist, Christabel gets exposed to temptation and experiences her fall. Moreover, the onomatopoeic effect in the quotation contributes to the credibility of the poet's main idea in the work.

In this Gothic setting, the persona provides an account of Geraldine's story from the perspective of this character. Accordingly, Geraldine is depicted as a noble lady who is grabbed by five warriors. Although she is tied, they leave her alone and do not explain her when they will return. In this apparently desperate situation, Geraldine's following depiction by the narrator in line 58 to 68 reinforces the credibility of the difficult situation she is in:

There she sees a damsel bright,
Drest in a silken robe of white,
That shadowy in the moonlight shone:
The neck that made that white robe wan,
Her stately neck, and arms were bare;
Her blue-veined feet unsandal'd were,
And wildly glittered here and there
The gems entangled in her hair.
I guess, 'twas frightful there to see
A lady so richly clad as she –
Beautiful exceedingly![30] (189)

As the major images, the blue –veined feet, bare arms and neck, and a silken white robe are the embodiment of the beauty of the lady who turns eventually into a she-vampire. As a result of Christabel's appreciation of Geraldine's nobility and her beauty, she responds positively to Geraldine's following demands, expressed in lines 73 to 75: "Have pity on my sore distress,/I scarce can speak for weariness:/Stretch forth thy hand, and have no fear!" [31] (189-190). For Andrew M. Cooper, "she [Geraldine] moans, allows herself to be discovered, and tosses off a melodramatic

[29] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Christabel", in The Complete Poems, ed. William Keach, (London: Penguin, 1997), 188-205.
[30] Ibid, 189.
[31] Ibid, 189-190.

tale" (90) to tempt her victim. Christabel's constructive approach to her temptress' apparently innocent demand proves her as a character who is "well-intentioned, virginal and naïve" (Ulmer 378). However, Christabel's naïve approach leads gradually to her downfall.

At this point, the first sign of Geraldine's position as a seducer is presented to the readers in the lines 247 to 254 as follows:

Then drawing her breath aloud
Like one that shuddered, she unbound
The cincture from beneath her breast:
Her silken robe, and inner vest,
Dropt to her feet, and in full view,
Behold! her bosom and half her side –
A sight to dream of, not to tell!
O shield her! shield sweet Christabel![32](194)

As a seducer, Geraldine's exposition of her breasts and her undressing at night in her room at Christabel's home can be considered as a signification of her qualification as a female vampire. For Joan Gordon and Veronica Hollinger, "we do indeed see many diverse reflections – of ourselves – as the vampire stands before us cloaked in metaphor" (3). Accordingly, while man has intellect and reason, he has also worldly desires, in materialistic or sexual terms. As a matter of fact, sexuality is also one of the major elements of human life. However, Lore Metzger views Geraldine's undressing and revelation of her naked breasts as "the sight of a woman as a Gothic object on display. [...]. Geraldine's capacity to enthrall, to captivate and spellbind her chosen subject, suggests that she is an artist figure" (14-5). Geraldine's rhetorical skills in her efforts to tempt Christabel indicate her qualification as a temptress, rather than an artistic figure. Reinforcing this idea, William A. Ulmer articulates that Geraldine is "a seductress before all else, she moves through the poem virtually as an allegory of sexual desire" (387).

In the morning following the night when Geraldine gets undressed and reveals her breasts, Christabel does not feel refreshed, whereas Geraldine is lively. At this point, the lines 375 to 376 can be viewed as an epitome of the result of her temptation by Geraldine: "For she belike hath drunken deep/Of all the blessedness of sleep!"[33] (198). Thus, Christabel's discourse in line 381 "Sure I have sinned!"[34] (198) points to her awareness of her weakness and lack of energy as a consequence of her temptation by Geraldine. As a matter of fact, Geraldine succeeds in tempting Christabel, since, in Andrew M. Cooper's words, "like Milton's tempter, [Geraldine] sees through her victim. She tells the girl [Christabel] exactly what she wants to hear. [...]. So Christabel's innocence is not somehow exempt from human frailty" (88-9).

[32] Ibid, 194.
[33] Ibid, 198.
[34] Ibid, 198.

In the second part of the poem, Geraldine's seduction continues in relation to Christabel's father, Sir Leoline. The temptress provides an account of her story to Sir Leoline. Similar to Christabel, his emotional reaction to Geraldine's story in lines 447 to 458 epitomizes his fall as well because of their Original Sin, signified by Geraldine's successful temptation:

> And now the tears were on his face,
> And fondly in his arms he took
> Fair Geraldine, who met the embrace,
> Prolonging it with joyous look.[35] (200)

As a result of the success in Geraldine's seduction of Sir Leoline, Christabel loses her health and gets weaker. Although Sir Leoline expresses his repentance in line 470 "what ails then my beloved daughter!"[36] (200), Christabel inevitably experiences her fall. In the end, when the effects of the seduction come up, it is seen that Geraldine, a very beautiful lady at first, turns into a snake. As stated in the lines 583 to 588, "A snake's small eye blinks dull and shy,/And the lady's eyes they shrunk in her head/ [...]/One moment – and the sight was fled!"[37] (203). For William A. Ulmer, Geraldine is "the nightmare-bringer, a conveyer of guilt, abjection and violation. [...] She parasitically lives off others. The supernatural occurrences marking her entry into the castle [...] associate her with witchcraft" (388). She brings catastrophe and fall to Christabel and her father, Sir Leoline as a vampire in the guise of a beautiful lady. Therefore, it is not wrong to argue that "Geraldine is a lamia" (Twitchell 40), which signifies a female vampire who seduces her victims both by her appearance and effective use of rhetoric and hence causes the fall of her chosen subjects.

In conclusion, man's fallibility has been one of the major subject matters of the literary works written in different periods. Indulgence in worldly pleasures and prioritization of materialist interests and sexual desires somehow bring about catastrophic consequences to mankind. The Romantics in English literature reflect their anxieties about the fallibility of man in relation to the innocence of children and the glorification of rural life. While Samuel Taylor Coleridge also shares similar views about humanity, his Miltonic outlook on man's destruction due to his tendency to worldly temptations is epitomized in "Christabel". Written in narrative form, this poem gives an account of Milton's "Original Sin" in Gothic technique. Christabel and Sir Leoline's fall based upon their seduction by Geraldine's physical beauty and effective use of rhetoric is a good example of the concept "Original Sin". The use of this term in the poem is an embodiment of Coleridge's warning to man about avoidance of indulgence in worldly pleasures that lead to catastrophe for humanity. Coleridge's employment of Miltonic concepts and Gothic imagery are not only an innovative approach in the Romantic poetry, but they also reinforce the credibility of his anxiety for humanity in relation to worldly temptations.

---

[35] Ibid, 200.
[36] Ibid, 200.
[37] Ibid, 203.

References

Primary Sources

1. Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, "A Chapter of Requests", in *Biographia Literaria*, intr. Arthur Symons. London: J. M. Dent, 1939.
2. "Aids to Reflection", in *The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol. 1. New York, 1853.
3. "Christabel" (1816), in *The Complete Poems*, ed. William Keach. London: Penguin, 1997.
4. "Confessio Fidei", in *The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol. 5. New York, 1853.
5. "The Knight's Tomb", in *The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Thayer, Shedd, vol. 7. New York: 1853.
6. "Literary Aristocracy", in *Biographia Literaria*, intr. Arthur Symons. J. M. Dent. 1939.
7. "Opinions in Religion and Politics", in *Biographia Literaria*, intr. Arthur Symons. London: J. M. Dent, 1939.
8. "Religious Musings", in *The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol. 7. New York: 1853.
9. "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner", in *The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Thayer Shedd, vol. 7. New York: 1853.

Secondary Sources

1. Baldick, Chris. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,1990.
2. Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The Canterbury Tales*, trans. into modern English by Nevill Coghill. London: Penguin, 2003.
3. Cooper, Andrew M. "Who's Afraid of the Mastiff Bitch? Gothic Parody and Original Sin in *Christabel*", in *Critical Essays on Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Leonard Orr, New York: G. K. Hall, 1994.
4. Gordon, Joan and Veronica Hollinger, "Introduction: The Shape of Vampires", in *Blood Read: The Vampire as Metaphor in Contemporary Culture*, eds. Joan Gordon and Veronica Hollinger, Philadelphia: University Press of Pennsylvania, 1997.
5. Metzger, Lore, "Modifications of Genre: A Feminist Critique of *Christabel* and *Die Braut von Korinth*", *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 22 (1993): 3-19. Project Muse, accessed May 24, 2017, doi: 10.1353/ 2010.0064.
6. Milton, John, *Paradise Lost*, http://triggs.djvu.org/, accessed June 12, 2017.

7. Stilinger, Jack, "Keats and Coleridge", in *Coleridge, Keats, and the Imagination: Romanticism and Adam's Dream*, eds. Robert Barth and John L. Mahoney. Columbia: University Press of Missouri, 1990.
8. Twitchell, James B, *The Living Dead: A Study of the Vampire in Romantic Literature*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1981.
9. Ulmer, William A, "*Christabel* and the Origin of Evil", *Studies in Philology* 104.3 (Summer 2007): 376-407. Jstor, accessed May 24, 2017.

HINDI LITERARY APPROACHES TO THE RELIGIOUS BHAKTI CURRICULUM IN INDIA AND ABROAD

Vijayakumaran.C.P.V.

The Philosophy of "Bhakti" and its Relation to Christianity and Islam

The Sanskrit word *bhakti* is derived from the root *bhaj*, which means "divide, share, partake, participate, to belong to". The word also means "attachment, devotion to, fondness for, homage, faith or love, worship, piety to something as a spiritual, religious principle or means of salvation".[1] Leiden in his edited a book on 'Studies in the History of Religions' states that the concept of Bhakti is a uniform idealistic and moral bondage of Hindu religion. Accordingly "bhakti has been credited with securing the final triumph of Hinduism over Jainism and Budhism, with bringing the vernaculars into being as literary languages, with spreading the concepts of the Great Tradition of brahminical Hinduism to the common man, with reconciling Hinduism and Islam, with reviving Hinduism in the face of the Muslim threat, with providing the ethos for the last great Hindu kingdom in India, that of the Maraathas"[2]. In Hinduism, it refers to devotion to, and love for, a personal God or a representational God by a devotee. In ancient texts such as the *Shvetashvatara Upanishad*, the term simply means participation, devotion and love for any endeavor, while in the *Bhagavad Gita*, it connotes one of the possible paths of spirituality and towards moksha, as in *bhakti marga*. Bhakti as 'emotional devotion' particularly to a personal god or to spiritual ideas makes the Indian religious concept. Albert Schweitzer[3] argues that Bhakti or piety, i.e. the conception of humble self-surrender to God was alien to the Aryans of India.

According to W.L. Reese,[4] "the use of the word Bhakti as a religious technical term is comparative by late in Indian Literature. This was to be expected because faith requires a personal Deity as its object, and for many centuries after Vedic times all Indian religious literature was confined to one form of thought that was incompatible with belief in the existence of such a God. In the sense of *Love* directed to God, the word appeared first in Buddhist works of the 4th century B. C". According

[1]Pechilis Prentiss, Karen (1999). The Embodiment of Bhakti. US, Oxford University Press. p. 24. & Werner, Karel (1993). Love Divine: Studies in Bhakti and Devotional Mysticism. Routledge.p. 168. & Monier Monier-Williams, Monier-Williams Sanskrit English Dictionary, Motilal Banarsidas, page 743.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhakti_movement#cite_note-monier-15

[2] Leiden & E.J. Brill, 1976, Studies in the History of Religions (Supplement to Newman) XXXIII HINDUISM: NEW ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS, Netherlands. p. 143.

[3] Albert Schweitzer, 1936, Indian Thought and Its Development, London, p. 174.

[4]W.L. Reese, Dicitonary of Philosphy and Religion¸ New Jersey, Humanities Press, p. 224.

[5]James Hastings ed. (1913) Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. 2, Eddinburah, TT Clark. p. 539.

to Weber[1], "Bhakti as the means and conditions of spiritual salvation was a foreign idea, which came to India with Christianity and exercised a considerable influence of the Hinduism of the period of the great epics and the Puranas."

Dutta[2] in his article on *Bhakti Movement and Anirudhadeva of Assam* describes Bhakti as "a devotional movement within Hinduism, emphasizing the intense emotional attachment and love of a devotee towards his personal God. Bhakti thus assumes a dualistic relationship between the devotee and God, in contrast of the monotheistic idea of Advaita Vedanta Philosophy."

At the outset, a notable point is that love is thematically central to most sects of Christianity, and therefore it is significant in Western culture, which has been considerably influenced by Christian values. In contrast, love is not central to all branches of Hinduism, which has many branches. All Hindus do not see love as an essential sentiment, or even as a necessity for achieving the highest religious goal. Imagine the challenges one would face exploring "Self-realization in Islam, in Judaism or in Christianity". While the concept of Self-realization is central or pivotal to Hindus, Buddhists and Jains, it is less so in Christianity, Islam and Judaism, religions which center on faith and salvation rather than Self-discovery. (The word 'self' is the common English rendering of the Sanskrit term, *atman.)*

"Hinduism and Islam share some ritual practices such as fasting and pilgrimage, but differ in their views on apostasy, blasphemy, circumcision, consanguineous marriages, idol making, henotheism, social stratification, vegetarianism, and Ahimsa as a virtue. Their historical interaction since the 7th century has witnessed periods of cooperation and syncretism, as well as periods of religious violence."[3] It is reported that after 12th century Bhakti grew rapidly in various Hindu traditions in response to the Islamic occupation of India. The chief deities of worship from that period were gods Vishnu (Vaishnavism), Shiva (Shaivism) and Devi (Shaktism) and the various sub deities related to them during the second half of the first millennium when temples and other places of worship became the sanctum sanctorum of Hindu Gods.

Aditya Sudharshan, in an article[4] 'What God do you believe in?', claims that in the day to day trenches of adult life, there is no such thing as atheism. "Adopting a particular set of Christian beliefs on salvation went hand in hand with taking part in specific Christian rituals and ceremonies, and entering a web of unequal social relations with non-Christians. It would be wrong and impermissible for a person with a Christian belief to participate in non-Christian social rituals or tolerate pagans. For this reason, a religion-centered social revolution in Europe meant (a) breaking the monopoly of Christianity, presenting options other than dominant Christian ideas of self-fulfilment – pluralisation of ethics; b) loosening the connection between ethics and social norms, freeing social norms from Christian ethics, building norms of social

[6].S. Dutta, article – Bhakti Movement and Anirudhadeva of Assam, Edt. Bhattacharya, N.N, 1989, Medieval Bhakti Movements in India, New Delhi, Mushiram Monoharlal Publications Ltd. P. 296.

[3]Hindu–Islamic relations- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu%E2%80%93Islamic_relations

[4] The Hindu, Literary Review, Sunday October 01, 2017, back page; p. 4

equality that transcended religious identities- secularisation, and c) fighting a church that blocked secularization and pluralisation."[5]

Bhakti: The Religious Movement in India

Bhakti movement, which lasted from seventh to seventeenth century in Hinduism, refers to ideas and engagement of love and devotion on the religious concepts built around one or more gods and goddesses. From the early 20th century, some colonial writers dwelled on the social capaciousness of or, to put it with a tinge of provocation, the insurrectionary and rebellious aspects of Bhakti. John Stratton Hawley who has been studying this issue over many decades brings new directions to the matter in his most recent study of the subject. *A Storm of Songs* probes how the idea of a "Bhakti movement" came about and what Indian scholars, inspired by nationalism, might have contributed to giving rise to a canonical narrative about bhakti's place in shaping an Indian sensibility.[6]

The introduction to Oxford Anthology of Bhakti literature describes various cultural symbiosis of Bhakti. "The specific cultural, intellectual, economic, and emotional factors within Bhakti poetry remain distinct to South Asia, and the greatest temptation for modern, literate people is to assume its emotions, aspirations or lyric forms are readily accessible to educated residents across the planet."[7] The academics and curriculum developers have been paying attention to this fact that from the early days. Driven by spiritual hunger, a fierce desire for spiritual freedom, and long-simmering demands for social or economic equality, Bhakti poets emerged in dozens of languages. Bhakti literature and literary approaches in Hindi are composed by saints and devotees from all casts and communities from the South, West, North and East regions in India. They included 39 renowned poets Shaiva, Alwar poets, Virashaiva and Telugu poets from the South; Lal Ded, Kabir, Ravidas (Raidas), Surdas, Mirabai, Tulsidas, Dadu Dayal, and Punjabi poets from the North, Barkaris, Jnandev, Namdev, Muktabai, Janabai, Chokhamela, Tukaram from the West, Jayadeva, Vidyapati, Chandidas, Ramoni, Bauls of Bengal, *Sakta* poets Ramprasad Sen, Kamalakanta Bhattacharya and finally Bhanusimha in poet laureate Rabindranath Tagore's translation from the East.

A Survey of Bhakti Literature from the Medieval Context to Postmodern Period

Hindi Bhakti sahitya (devotional literature) is the school of poetry from mid-fourteenth to mid-seventeenth century. It has two major heads of *Nirguna* (those who believed in formless God) and *Saguna* (those who worshipped human incarnations like Raama or Krishna, or Avataaras of gods and goddesses). The

[5] Rajeev Bhargava, Religion and the Indian Constitution, The Hindu, Sunday, October 01, 2017, p. 15.
[6] https://vinaylal.wordpress.com/2017/04/22/the-bhakti-movement-and-a-nation-in-the-making/
Lal Salaam: A Blog by Vinay Lal: Reflections on the Culture of Politics & the Politics of Culture
[7] Andrew Schelling, Ed. 2011, The Oxford Anthology of Bhakti Literature, OUP, introduction, p. xiii.

Nirguana poets had drawn heavily from the Upanishads, the non-dualistic philosophy of Shankaracharya, the Naatha Cult, the Sufi tradition in Islam, and the biblical tradition. They emphasize direct communion with God and advocated social reform by protesting against prevailing rigid caste system and orthodox ritualism. Almost all the Nirguna Bhakti poets were born to lowest classes of the society. Saint Ramanada (1368-1468), Kabir (1398-1518), Naanak (1469-1538), Daadu (1554-1603), Raidas (1398-1448), Malukadasa (1574-1682), Sundaradasa (1596-1689) and Sheikh Farid were born in the lowest social classes. The *Saguna* poets composed Bhakti literature based on Vedas, Upanishads, Itihasa and Purana in poetic form (epics), *muktakas* (free poetry) and a very few prose sermons in vernacular languages. Prosaic literature is sometimes used by the twelve Vasihnavite *Alwars* ('those immersed in god') who included a female named Andal and 63 *Nayanars,* sixth to eight century Tamil saint poet devotees of Shiva of south India. Another group of eight Vaishnava poets of the north named as 'Ashtachaaps' are referred time and again in the 'Varta' literature' which comprised of '*Chourasi (84) Vaishnavan Ki Vaarta'* and '*EksouBavan (152) Vaishnavan Ki Varta'*. Nabhadas, a saint belonging to the tradition of Ramananda and a Krishna devotee wrote *'Bhaktmaal'*, (a poem in the Braj language giving short biographies of more than two-hundred Bhaktas). The literature of this medieval period in Hindi is drawn upon the many religious tradition of India. India's pluri-religious nature comprising Hinduism, Budhism, Jainism, Sufism, and several sectarian practices paved way for this.

Post-medieval era presents Hindi Bhakti literature in the *Riti* tradition. '*Ramchandrika*', a Ramayana rendering of Keshavadas (1601) is based on *Valmiki Ramayana*, the original Sanskrit epic which was based on the devotion of Lord Rama. This composition contains sensual translation of *'Hanumannatak', 'PrasannaRaghav', 'Uttar Ramcharit'*, '*Adhyatma ramayan'* etc. Some of the Ramabhakti poems included in the 'History of Hindi literature' by Nagendra.[8] are '*Ramayan Chand* (Rishidev Dongra, 1863), '*Ramavatar'* (Guru Govind Singh), '*Aalha Ramayan', 'Ram Vivah Khanth', 'Mithila Khanth'*. Other poems of the period include – Madhav Das Chaaran Gunram Raso's *Adhyatmaramayan,* Laldasa's *Awadh Vilas,* Mandans' *Hanuman Pachisi,* Sukhdev Mishra's *Hanuman Panchak,* Lalmani's *Adbhut Ramayan* etc.

The modern age of Hindi literature began with Bharatendu Harischandra who translated Bhakti poems like *Raghuvans, Nava Panchamrit Ramayan, Uttar Ramacharit* etc. Bharatendu wrote *Sitaharam charitamritu, Ram rajyaabhishek* etc. in Braj. In Dwivedi Yug Rama Bhakti poems like *Ramcharanankmaala (*Lala Bhagavan)*, Sati Sita* and *PriyaPravas* (HariAudh), *Ram* (Ramnaresh Tripathi), *Kaikeyi ka pataya* (Mukutdhar Pandey), *Ramchandroday Kavya (*Ramnath Jothisi) and *Saketh (*Maithili Sharan Gupta) were written. In his byline to the modern epic *Saketh* based on *Ramayana,* he wrote: '*Ram tumhara vrt swayam hi kavya hai, koi kavi ban jaaye sahaj sambhavya hain'* (hey Ram, your story is in itself an epic and anyone who writes on this will undoubtedly be a poet), although he never took it a

[8] Dr. Nagendra, 1973, 'Hindi Sahitya Ka Brihat Ithihas', Kashi, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, p. 393.

Bhakti poem. Most of the Hindi poets have relied upon the theme and content of the Bhakti tradition and recreated them into the modern Hindu or Indian in general. In *Chayavaad* (Indian Romantic) age, (1920-36) writer Suryakanth Tripathi Nirala composed a song-drama '*Panchavati Prasangh*' (1923) and a long poem '*Ram ki Shaktipuja*' (1936) based on Bhakti portraying Ram as a modern man with strong ambition. Sumitranandan Pant's '*Ashok Van',* Pandit Shyam Narayan Pandey's poems *Jay Hanuman, Bali Vadh* etc. are also based on episodes from Ramayana. Dinkar had his most acclaimed recreations of 'Mahabharat' into two long poems – '*Kurukshetra*' and '*Rashmirathi*'. The former is based on Bhagavat Gita the latter is based on 'Karnan', the son of the Sun God and Kunti portraying the Hindu concept of 'grand gift' (*Mahadaanam)* of one's own life, and the struggle of an illegitimate child. Thus, the modern Hindi literature also relates the dimensions of Bhakti. But, the modern age in Hindi is post-Bhakti period, and no exclusive Bhakti poems like the Middle Ages are written.

Mahatma Gandhi once said, "By political independence I do not mean an imitation to the British House of commons, or the Soviet rule of Russia or the fascist rule of Italy or the Nazi rule of Germany. They have systems suited to their genius. We must have ours suited to ours. What that can be is more than I can tell. I have described it as *Ramarajya* i.e., sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority"[9] Recent trends include Hindu religious texts in the syllabus from the school level to university level. In Northern India, Haryana has decided to include the Hindu holy text, the Bhagwad Gita in school curriculum recently. However, in Kerala, when P M. Antony's recreation (1986) of Nikos Kazant Zakis 'Last Temptation of Christ', in the form of theatre '*Christuvinte Aaraam Thirumurivu*' (The Sixth Sacred Wound of Christ) in the Christian minorities got stay from High Court of Kerala from staging it and later the drama was removed from the curriculum. India is a secular state by 42nd Amendment Act of Constitution in 1978, and the Indian religions have significant influence on the global scale.

Post Modern Indian Religious Studies in Hindi Literature

The postmodern Hindi bhakti literature is a pastiche,[10] a means to renew and reactivate old forms and it sheds light on the globalization of culture. The postmodern renderings of the epics *Mahabharat, Ramayan*, *Hanumannatak,* and *Jataka* stories into short story, novel, long poem, free verses, or a mixture of all genres do not pave for a Bhakti literary tradition in Hindi, but illustrate how the literature has become a commodity market. Hardayal Singh wrote an epic *Ravan* (1952), which highlights the blessedness of a demon king. King Janaka's character also recreated in *Videh* (1954) by Ramavatar 'Arun'. '*Ramrajya*' is a similar work by Baldev Prasad Mishra (1958), which sheds light on the contemporary politics and

[9] Harijan, 2 January 1937

[10] Transformation may be the origin of pastiche. There is a tendency to leave behind the reality of life and take shelter in a haven of artistic freedom that leads to self-consciousness, self-reflexiveness and self-mimicry. - http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/105160/5/05_chapter%203.pdf

ruling community of India. A song rendering *Agnipareeksha* is to recreate Tulsidas' Bhajans in 1961, which had also the Jaina tradition to boast this creation. Surdas' bhajans and *Ashtachap Keertans* are transformed into '*Haveli Sangeet'* of the Braj today. Almost all of the Bhakticult became market-oriented products like CD, musical consorts, dance theatre and folk presentations suited to the society. *Ramleela* and *Krishnaleela* have their own world famous troupes enlightening the public with Rama Bhakti and Krishna Bhakti. TV serials and channel show in Hindi on many of the medieval epics even became election propaganda high-tech materials. Ramanada Sagar experimented with *Ramayana* serials (1986, 2008 & 2012) for which the Hindi *Manas* was the core text. *Mahabharat* (1988 & 2013 TV series), *Vikram Aur Vetal, Jai Bajrang Bali, Om Namah Shivaya*, etc. been three digital versions with spectators around the globe, crossing religious boundaries. *Alif Laila* and *Arabian nights* also grouped into this. Theatrical adaptations of *Ramayan: Un Viaje Cien Rupias'*[11] as a street play presented on *Ramayana* in Spain and Europe. Exhibitions and poster presentations in London and many cities in the world on the religious relics and models also are a means of study of this literature. In short, Indian academics have been interested in Hindi Bhakti Literature from the medieval period onwards.

The Hindi literary works '*Andha Yug'* (Dharmveer Bharati), *'Mr. Jinnah'*(Narendra Mohan), '*My Hindu Hun'*(Asgar Wajahat), are some of the postmodern literary texts attributing to the theatre and visual media which directly influence the mass and illustrate the religious post independence tradition of India.
Postmodern studies on Hindi Bhakti tradition and literature are widely and critically acclaimed. Dalit Studies, Folklore Studies, Woman Writing, Muslim Studies, Oral History, Neo-historicism, Post Modern Study of Hindi Medieval Period, and Critical Discourses of Kabir, Tulsidas, Surdas, Meerabai, Rahim, Raskhan as well as Special Author Studies are quite common in the University syllabus. All these aim to make the students and readers understand the sectarian practice that were prevalent in India, and to generate a neo-historical understanding of the theory of sovereignty that India follows, and to inculcate a national sovereign spirit among its multifarious communities and its postmodern society. Quartz study[12] shows that India stands fourth in sectarian violence in the world: "An April 11 *Pew Research Center Analysis* of 198 countries ranked India as fourth worst in the world for religious intolerance. In the country of 1.3 billion, the incidence of hostility related to religion trailed only Syria, Nigeria and Iraq, all places where sectarian violence is widespread." Hindus and Muslims rifts have increased and intensified that. "In 2015, Muslims in India at times experienced attacks by Hindus because of alleged cow slaughter, while Hindus were also sometimes the targets of hostilities by Muslims as well" Many incidents of rioting and mob violence involving these two communities are marked in the current India as well.

Hindi Curriculum in India and Bhakti Literature

[11] Casa de la India presentación –cited in Vijayakumaran. 2012, Ramcharit Manas Aur Sanskritik Anuvad, Mathura, Jawahar Pustakalaya. (Hindi). Pp. 122-26.
[12] https://qz.com/959802/india-is-the-fourth-worst-country-in-the-world-for-religious-violence/

The ancient and medieval renderings of Bhakti poets, philosophers, saints, sufis and the priests are included in the basic and essential curricula of Hindi. Even though religious Bhakti traditions are practiced in the contemporary world also, academics tend to concentrate more on the materials which have already been stereotyped as Hindi Bhakti literature in order to shed light on the pluri-cultural India of medieval times, pioneering religious studies. This literature involves verbal, written and performance tradition and was aimed at finding unity in the unification of cultural, ethical and moral values of the human kind. This is essential for keeping up the sovereign, socialistic, and religious freedom of India as a whole.

The Significance of Bhakti Literature in the Curricula

Through their curricula for literature, and language and humanities, Indian universities also attempt to familiarise the learners with the vast Indian heritage through Bhakti literature. Benarus Hindu University, Allahabad University, Aligarh Muslim University, Jamia Milia Islamia, Moulana Abdul Kalam Urdu University, Kashi Hindi Vidyapeeth, Kurukshetra University are some recognized Central/State Universities in India where the religious education in India is imparted in Hindi. It is coincidental that today's media stories highlight the opinion of the present union government to avoid such words from the names of some Indian universities that which are directly expressing the religious notions.

Allahabad University: The Abode of Hindi and Hindu Tradition

The Department of Hindi in Allahabad University was founded in 1924 by Dr. Dharmveer Bharati, who had later written *AndhaYug* (1954), (trans. Alok Bhalla in 2005, The Blind Age) a verse play and theatrical adaptation of *Mahabharat*. It is an innovative depiction of the epic story as a saga (age) of blindness.

Kamil Bulke (Belgium, 1909–1982) who arrived in India in 1945 and obtained Ph.D from Allahabad University (1949) for his thesis, *Ram Katha Ka Vikas*. He prepared a life of Christ based on the four gospels, *Muktidata* (The Redeemer) and translated the Bible and some liturgical and devotional books into Hindi. "When I arrived in India in 1935, I was surprised and pained when I realised that many educated people were unaware of their cultural traditions and considered it a matter of pride to speak in English. I resolved my duty would be to master the language of the people." – The Faith of A Christian—Devotion To Hindi And To Tulsi[13]

Ramcharitmanas was a highly influential devotional text for Hindus in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and was frequently read by the Europeans learning Hindi. "The more Bulke studied *Ramcharitmanas*, he became deeply attached to it. His sublime sense of righteous goodness, the lofty values and ideals of its

[13] Father Camille Bulke, The Telegraph, Wednesday, 3 January 2007.

characters and its poetic excellence fascinated him to such an extent that it almost became an object of worship for him. He found a striking resemblance between the ethical aspect of righteous conduct and values of life as portrayed by the author of the *Ramcharitmanas*, and those propounded by Jesus Christ in his discourses."[14]

Omission of Vidyapati in Aligarh Muslim University

In contrast to the above tradition, certain poets like Vidyapati (1352 –1448) who is famous for his 'Ancient Romantic Verses or *Padas',* and whose romantic Bhakti poetry about Krishna appear in the syllabus of most Indian universities, remain omitted from the Hindi syllabus of Aligarh Muslim University (established. in 1875) probably because of the excessive omitted him from Hindi syllabus from beginning till date probably in view of his compilation of excess '*Sringar'* (love) bound verses. Following an Academic ordinance in January 1948, teaching of Hindi at PG Level was added to Sanskrit Department and the department was renamed as Sanskrit-Hindi Department.

The courses designed in the department of Hindi at AMU at present offer PhD, MPhil, M.A, BA (Hons.) programmes in Religious studies and Subsidiary Hindi for undergraduate students of other faculties with Bhakti poetry and its criticism. Prof. Harvamshalal Sharma acclaimed compiler of Surdas's 'SurSagar', was chairman of the Department from 1953 to 1975. It also had a faculty of Dr. Brajeshwar Verma an authority on Surdas and Dr. Paras Nath Tiwari an authority on Kabirdas and '*Madhayakalin Kavya'* the main textbook of the Medieval Hindi Bhakti at undergraduate and postgraduate level.

Hindi Bhakti Poets in World Literature

Vidyapati was widely influential in in Hindustani, Bengali and Maithili and moderately influenced in Nepali and other Eastern literary traditions. The godly vision of the poet inspired later Bhakti poets in the age of *Riti,* unique composition of classical Sanskrit poetry in vernacular languages. It was Vidyapati who developed the sixteenth century literary language *Brijabuli,* out of the language of his times, Prakrit derived Avahatha. Indeed, the language at the time of Vidyapati, the *Prakrit*-derived late *Avahatta*. *Brajabuli* was basically the medieval Maithili although its forms were modified to look like Bengali. The medieval Bengali poets, Gobindadas Kabiraj, Jnandas, Balaramdas and Narottamdas composed their *pada*s in this language.

Persian Sufi poets who influenced Hindi poets include Malik Mohammad Jayasi (1492-1542), Kutban (1503), and Manjhan (1545). "This Persian influence flooded South Asia with Islam, Sufi thought, syncretic values, literature, education, and entertainment that has created an enduring impact on the presence of Islam in

[14] Obituary Indo-Iranian Journal, Publisher: Springer Netherlands. ISSN 0019-7246 (Print) 1572-8536 (Online). Issue: Volume 25, Number 4 / June 1983.

India today." [15] Prominent Krishna poets include Surdas, Nandadas and other six Ashtachaap poets. Mirabai, the only woman among them freed herself from the household and royal duties and obligations to dedicate her soul to her beloved Krishna.

Bhagavata Purana was the chief source of Saguna Krishna poets. Outstanding among the Rama Bhakti poets Tulsidas (1543-1623) who wrote Rama's story as narrative epic poem, and named it *RamacharitManas* (Rama Story consumed in the Mind). Its Spanish translation by Elena del Rio in prose carries a similar title: *El Ramyana: Joyar de los textos sagrados hindu*.

Ramayana and Ramacharit Manas are most sacred texts received from time and again, by Hindus, Christians, Muslims and almost all religions to have their own tellings of this story in adaptation. Paula Richman[16] speaks about the religious impact of *Ramayana* in her book 'Many Ramayanas': "Their essays demonstrate the multi-vocal nature of the *Ramayana* by highlighting its variations according to historical period, political context, regional literary tradition, religious affiliation, intended audience, and genre. Socially marginal groups in Indian society—Telugu women, for example, or Untouchables from Madhya Pradesh— have recast the Rama story to reflect their own views of the world, while in other hands the epic has become the basis for teachings about spiritual liberation or the demand for political separatism". Frank E. Reynolds [17] edited the book : *Three Ramayana, Rama Jataka, and Ramakien: A Comparative Study of Hindu and Buddhist Traditions* and wrote interdisciplinary nature of Rama stories: "In the history and literature of religions few stories have been told as many different times in as many different ways as the story of Rama. For at least two thousand years—and probably longer—various versions of the story have been told in India and Sri Lanka; for over a thousand years—and probably much longer still—these and other versions have been told in Central and Southeast Asia, in China and Japan. Now, increasingly, the story is being told in the West as well."

In the later medieval period, Hindi literature accounts for *Riti poets* like Kesavadasa, Biharilal, Deva etc. who had modeled their gods Rama and Krishna in *RitiKavya* anthology (a tradition of poetics borrowed from Sanskrit Literature). Bihari Lal Chaube (1595–1663), an acclaimed poet who learned Persian language and came into contact with Rahim, another famous poet, wrote the *Satsaī* (Seven Hundred Verses) in Brajbhasha. He had his opening verse praising Raadha – the sign model for eternal love maker:

"Meri Bhavbhadha Haro, Raadha Naagari Soi

[15] Schimmel, Anniemarie (1975). "Sufism in Indo-Pakistan". Mystical Dimensions of Islam. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. p. 345. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufism_in_India

[16] Paula Richman, 1991, Many Ramayanas: The Diversity of a Narrative Tradition in South Asia, Berkeley, University of California Press. http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft3j49n8h7/

[17] "This paper was originally written as the inaugural lecture for a three-day Brown Symposium held at Southwestern University (Georgetown, Texas) in October 1988. The symposium was devoted to the Thai version of the Rama story and was supplemented by the performance of major segments of the story by a dance troupe from Thailand." : (E books collection, 1982-2004, formerly eScholarship Editions, University of California Press)

Jaa Tan Ki JhaiPari, ShyamHaritDuti Hoy."

(O Raadha, the beloved modern lady of Krishna! Bless me, for it is you in whose shadow Shyaam is turning active (greenish)." This can be taken granted as the Bhakti poetry in transition to modernism, with ethics and morals to follow. Biharilal cautioned King Jai Singh I (1611-1667), of Amber by coining this allegorical verse:

"Nahin paraga nahin madhurmadhu nahin vikasa yahikal
ali kali hi saun bandhyau aagein kaun haval."

(There is no pollen; there is no sweet honey; nor yet has the blossom opened. If the bee is enamoured of the bud, who can tell what will happen when she is a full-blown flower.)[18]

The Hindi Saint poets influenced contemporary society and spread their message of eternal gods and cults who are grouped as *Pravritimargi* (Thou in the path of action). They had their telling and demonstrations of various *saadhanas – hathayoga, rajayoga* and collaboration with spiritual chiefs like Gorakhnath, Sikh Guru Govind Singh, as well as later siddhas, sanyasis and philosophers. Upanishadic mysticism was the chief promoter of both *Gyanmargis* (thou in the path of knowledge) as well as *Saguna* poets.

In modern times, Kabir's *Vani* inspired Tagore. Tuslidas was translated into French, Russian, Italian, German, English (3) and Spanish. Vidyapati inspired Sri Aurobindo. Mirabai and Surdas are translated into English and Russian respectively. Early Tamil-Siva bhakti poets influenced Hindu texts that came to be revered all over India [19]

The two great 6th Century BC contemporary Indian sages Mahavira and Budha, influenced the world with their *'Ahimsa'* doctrines and the later Hindi Bhakti poets like Kabirdas and Dadu Dayal were directly influenced by them and plead for '*Ahimsa*' saying:

I tell the truth,
there's no doubt about it-
whoever takes the life of another creature
goes to the dark
road to hell. (*Sakhi* – Dadu Dayal, 13.4).

Like Kabir, Dadu also criticized the vises, ceremonies, customs and practices which sprang from the blind belief of both Hindus and Muslims. Kabir, for example, oriented the Muslims practice 'fasting' in the holy month of Ramzan, saying: '*Din Bhar Roja Rakhat Hain, Raat Ko Hanat Hai Gai*' (Fasting the whole day and slaughtering cow at night). He did not spare Brahmins and other traditional Hindus

[18]https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satasai
[19] Karen Pechilis Prentiss (2014), The Embodiment of Bhakti, Oxford University Press, Pp 17-18.

unscathed. As the Hindi Bahkti Poets were more human than religious, their social criticism has an impact in changing the society a whole.

Mahatma Gandhi, in his biography[20] reminisces: "The outstanding impression my mother has left on my memory is that of saintliness. She was deeply religious. She would not think of taking her meals without her daily prayers. Going to Haveli -the Vaishnava temple- was one of her daily duties" He also emphasised how the language of study becomes the symbol of one's own religion. [21] The opposition to and abhorrence of meat eating that provoked in Gujarat among the Jains and Vaishnavas had a great impact all over India.

For Mahatma Gandhi 'religion' was synonymous with self-realization or knowledge of self.[22] He also mentions how the sacred text Bhagavata that evoked religious fervor in him. "I heard of a well known Hindu having been converted to Christianity. It was the talk of the town that, when he was baptized, he had to eat beef and drink liquor, that he also had to change his clothes, and that thenceforth he began to go about in European costume including a hat."

The Brahmin priesthood realigned the danger it found to their privileges since both Jainism and Buddhism had given access to the lower castes to higher knowledge. They wanted to monopolize the wisdom of ancient India for themselves as a source of prestige and income. Recent research disproves the pretense of medieval orthodoxy as the sole custodians of Indian Wisdom. Some of the *Saguna* Hindi poets advocated this *brahminhood* and Saint worship, which paved way for the Brahminical Hinduism.

Universal Hindu: The Ethics of Hindi Religious Studies

According to B.R. Ambedkar[23], "The religious conceptions in this country are so vast that they cover every aspect of life from birth to death.... There is nothing extraordinary in saying that we ought to strive hereafter to limit the definition of religion in such a manner that we shall not extend it beyond beliefs such rituals as may be connected with ceremonials which are essentially religious". The Supreme Court of India has observed that "what constitutes the essential part of a religion is primarily to be ascertained with reference to the doctrines of that religion itself".

[20]Mahatma Gandhi, An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth, Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, (e books) page. 2.

[21] Mahatma Gandhi, An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth, Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, (e books) page 9.

[22] "Gandhiji also reminisced the 'Ramchartitmanasa' readings of LaddhaMaharaj every evening at home. "He had a melodious voice. He would sing the Dohas (couplets) and Chopais (quatrains), and explain them, losing himself in the discourse and carrying his listeners along with him. I must have been thirteen at that time, but I quite remember being enraptured by his reading. That laid the foundation of my deep devotion to the Ramayana. Today I regard the Ramayana of Tulasidas as the greatest book in all devotional literature." -

-Mahatma Gandhi, An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth, Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, (e books) p. 16-17.

[23]RonojoySen, 2011, Legalising Religion, an excerpt from Legalising Religion: The Indian Supreme Court and Secularism by the same author, 2007. New Delhi, Critical Quest, p. 13 (ibid: 434) quote in p. 16.

Saint poet Kabir [24] had said: "... The pool of my body will be the place of pilgrimage,/Nearby will Brahman chant Vedas,/ The mind will be fused with my lover." Even though the revolutionary in him was against the 'karmakandas' and Brahminism, in explaining the deep rooted love and affection towards the Almighty as a mystic poet, he uses Brahminical terminology to explain how the religion of Hindus are deep rooted in the fusion of Almighty and Atma.

According to Kancha Ilaiah[25] who wrote a Dalit criticism against Hindutva philosophy, "...the specialization that one acquires in communicating these caste occupational tasks is as much or more sophisticated than that possessed by a Brahmin who utters the several names of his Gods while reciting a mantra. What is ironical is that the recitation of several names of one God or many Gods is construed as wisdom, whereas knowing the language of production and the names of productive tools is not recognized as knowledge." and, "...thus the brahminical notion of purity and pollution operates even at home. In contrast to our skill-based vocabulary they learn words like *Veda, Ramayana, Mahabharata, Purana* and so on."[26]

Since the medieval poets in Hindi upheld reverentially a master-slave relationship with God, the suffixed 'das' (servent) to their names and to *Doha* or *Pada*. Kabir proclaims: *"Kabir Koota Raam Kaa"* (Kabir is Ram's dog), Tulsi also resonates: *"Ham Chakar Raghuvir Ke, Pathav Likho Darbar"* (We all servants of Raghu, and take guard of his court), Surdas also observed: *"abki rakhi lehu bhagavana"* (Oh God! Save Me). They had clear cut ideas to influence and change the society from immortality, and Kabir advocated the same as what Jesus said in his sermons: "*Nindak Niyare Raakhiye, Aankan Kuti Chavaye..*' (Keep your enemy as your neighbour and build a shelter for him at your door front...). Rahim Khankhana or Bihari Lal too had ethical and moral lessons to teach through their couplets: "*Badaa huva to kya hua, jaise pet khajur'* (What is there in growing like a date palm!...), "*Rahman nija man ki vyatha, man hi raakhyo goy..."* (Keep hold of your sorrows, for you have to suffer yourself and nobody can share it...) "Continue to knock, and the door will open for you." (Matthew 7:7-8.) This Biblical reverberates in Kabir who says: *'Jin doonda, tin payiyaa, gahare paani paithi'*. Kabir protests against the marginalisation of the Dalit-scholars: *'Jaati na poocho saadhu ki, pooch lijiye gyan'* ('Don't go for the caste of wise, ask for his wisdom') Playing on the similarity in the names of Rama and Rahim, Kabir notices that *–Hindu Kahat hai Ram Hamara, Musalman Rahmana.* ('Hindu says Ram, and Muslim Rahim as their god') suggesting that harmony belies them in trouble. Surdas had praised the cowherd god Krishna and his friendly demenour: *"Gokul sab gopal upasai/ jog ang saadat hey udhav, te sab basat ispur kaasi"* (Surdas, *Bramar Geet*, p. 93) ('In Gokul, all are worshipers of Gopal. Oh Udhav, Yoga is a difficult *sadhana* which lies only in Kashi'), suggesting that which Kashi is the abode of 'Yoga' and 'Sadhana', Madhura remain the physical love of men and women. Surdas even advocates environmental

[24] Andrew Schelling, Ed. 2011, The Oxford Anthology of Bhakti Literature, OUP, p. 114.
[25] KanchaIlaiah, 2009, Why I am not a Hindu: A Sudra Critique of Hindutva Philosophy, Culture and Political Economy, Calcutta, Samya, second reprint, first ed. 1996, p. 6.
[26] Ibid. p. 8

protection by suggesting the worship of -*Govardhan* hill, or River *Yamuna* and Krishna's peacock crown finding elementary spirituality in nature itself. The metaphorical and allegorical language used by the devotee turned poets of this age are commendable. Malik Mohammad Jayasi, the Sufi Bhakti poet who illustrated the *Masnavi* tradition of Persia, in his epic *Padmavat* was highly influential by Indian myths and symbols. the Universal man becomes 'Hindu' when Bhakti poets preach for 'universal love' and 'selfless service to the Almighty and man' etc.

Bhakti Curriculum in other Indian Universities

Among the oldest universities and educational institutions in India is Serampore College, which was established on 1818 in Howrah, West Bengal by a trio of English missionaries - William Carey, Joshua Marshman and William Ward. It included no department of Hindi, although a Sanskrit department was established from the beginning. The missionary did care about Hindi teaching. Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee (1847), University of Mumbai (1857), University of Madras (1857) and University of Calcutta (1857) were established later. Almost all India technical institutions like Indian Institute of Technology Roorkee, omitted Hindi Literature studies. However, the public universities where literature departments were established gave due attention to Hindi. The Central University and five other public universities in Kerala have Hindi following the national syllabus framed by University Grants Commission at undergraduate, postgraduate and research degrees. Modern Vocational Course syllabi also omit literary studies out of the 47 central universities, 363 public universities, 122 deemed universities and 258 private universities in India, there are six exclusive language universities (UGC) Some of them offer Hindi Literary Studies at graduate and postgraduate and research levels. Indian Institute of Advance Studies, Indian Council for Cultural Relations, and some of the NGOs and private agencies offer Religious Studies and Comparative Studies.

Delhi University conditionally removed A.K Ramnujan's article 'Three Hundred Ramayanas, Five Examples and Three Thoughts on Translations', from its syllabus and the academics protested against the university's action. Although the Academic Council decided to continue with the article in the syllabus political parties threatened academics. A play *'Ham Sab Ayodya'* (We all are Ayodya') based on '*Budhist Jatakas'* portraying Ram and Sitha as siblings was staged by '*Sahmat'* in 1982, Hindu got it banned.

Comparative study of religious values at the senior levels[27] is the landmark of the value education run with feminist centers from MHRD, Govt. of India since 2005. Scholars generally stress only on the Bhakti literature of the past to unfathom the gems of Indian spirituality preserved in the literary texts. Their critical appreciation is included in the modern curriculum of undergraduate and postgraduate syllabus. So, there is no deletion of sacred texts, from any of the top rated university syllabi in India viz. JNU, Delhi, Banaras Hindu University, Aligarh Muslim University,

[27] http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/upload_document/SCHEME_EHV.pdf

Mumbai University, Kolkatta University, Mahatma Gandhi International Hindi University etc. Even the school curriculum in India begins with spiritual lessons in Hindi inculcating ethic, moral and spiritual values. The most refereed among the poets of Ancient Hindi literature is Kabir and he is followed by Tulsidas, Surdas, Meerabai, Abdul Rahim Khankhana, Raskhan and so on.

In the 'Prologue' to the '*Prachin Evom Madyakalin Kavya'* its editor[28] pointed out that it is "University Grants Commission, the apex body of academics in India paved way for the new model syllabus and its potentiality. The objective of the syllabus is to be for distributing the knowledge factor of the world and Indian heritage to student community, so University offered for MA Hindi Literature syllabus as per its recommendation. Accordingly, 8 Optional papers and 2 Electives out of which 90 percentage of the textual materials which had been taught from good old times are kept as such." The case with other universities in India is also similar.

World Universities and Medieval Hindi Literature

The Department of Asian Languages and Literature of University of Washington and Yale University in USA offer a wide range of courses in modern and medieval Hindi language and literature[29], at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Western and Eastern World recommend the Medieval Literature in their respective curricula, as they contain didactic poetry, pastoral poems, moral, ethics, philosophy and aesthetics of the secular India. The Chicago professor Philip A Lutgendorf[30] to the question *"The Ramlila is something of a mass religious experience — did you partake of the surge of devotion that was driving most of the people around you?*" replied, "The *swarups*, the boys who play Ram, *koi baarah-terah saal ke ladke,* were worshipped at *aartis* every night at around 9-10 in the evening. It was always beautiful and it always brought tears to my eyes."

Undergraduate major in South and Southeast Asian Languages and Literature in University of Texas and University of California, take four semesters of language work in South Asian languages including Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Indonesian, Khmer, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tagalog, Tamil, Thai, or Vietnamese.[31] Ramdas Lamb[32] points out the neglect of Tulsidas by Western Universities: "Tulsidas and the contemporary Ram Bhakti tradition is given very little attention. Kanchan Srivastava also reported that Hindi and Sanskrit are nowhere to be found in the curriculums of schools in

[28] Dr. Sushma Dube, Dr. K.N. Dube & Dr. Raj kumar. Ed., 2002, Prachin Evom Madhyakalin Kavya, New Delhi, Vani Prakashan. P.7.

[29] https://asian.washington.edu/fields/hindi

[30] http://www.dnaindia.com/analysis/interview-philip-lutgendorf-on-translating-tulsidas-ramcharitmanas-for-murty-classical-library-of-india-2177076

[31] Uttara Choudhury, 29-10-2015; https://www.braingainmag.com/how-hindi-is-catching-on-in-us-schools-and-colleges.htm

[32] Lamb, 1999: 'The Invincible Tulsidas In The Contemporary Western Study Of Hinduism', Miami, Florida International University, November 26-28, abstracts, p. 29, Quoted Vijayakumaran, 2012, Ramacharit Manas Aur Sanskritik Anuvad, Mathura, Jawahar Pustakalaya, p. xix (Hindi)

Germany.[33] Prof. Demantowsky observes: "We should really care for more Hindi courses at German high schools. India deserves more attention in German society, this interest should go beyond cheap Orientalism" Wherever Hindi is taught in world, texts from medieval religious poetry like *RamcharitManas, Sur Sagar,* Meerabai, Kabirdas, Dadu Dayal, or Sufi poets become integral past. Many Chinese universities including Peking University and Beijing Foreign Studies University teach Hindi.

Conclusion

The Indian concept of a sectarian nation by opening all doors to its multi religious communities to worship their own Gods in any form according to, one's own whims and fancy or societal needs and practices are arbitrary. The pseudo nationalism as a whole spread throughout India when it was colonized for centuries by Westerners. Historical evidences are plenty to prove the 'Divide and Rule' policy of British rulers, which later paved way for the great tragedy of the division of India by which main focus of religious studies and bhakti literature got emphasis on Hinduism and Islamism and the inclusion of Jainist, Budhist literary texts became marginalized. Even though their introductory remarks were included in the Ancient Hindi literature, due to the scarcity of learning *Prakrit* and *Pali* Languages as that of the then elite language of Sanskrit, the Bhakti texts comprised of vernacular languages, which are more easy and comprehensive.

The dynamics of Hindi literary approach to the Bhakti curriculum based on the ancient and medieval texts universities is conditioned by the needs of the present. That dynamic in terms of prospective is that while religious texts remain the same, their adaptations in modern and postmodern context is based on the pre-colonial and post-colonial understanding of the idea of nation. The more medieval Bhakti literature in Hindi is received, the more India will remain pluricultural. Literary figures of the past have tried to strengthen the society by way of worshipping various Gods and by writing in praise of them. As their approach was based on the common man's understanding of the Almighty, their recreation of God led society to be compatible in their spirituality, although they were divergent in practice. The incarnation of Gods depicted by *Saguna* poets and mystical rendering of the union of atma with Brahman by *Nirguna* poets are depicted through the metaphor of man-woman relations and these paved ways to integrate *Bhakti* with music, performance and even verbal chanting. So much that only an interdisciplinary literary approach can make one understand these texts. The universal teachings of Hindi Bhakti poets are widely accepted by the Dalits and different communities and castes in protest against upper casts and elite creeds of the time. The ruling community of other religions in India also welcomed the social criticism of some of the poets and honored them with important positions in courts. The postmodern discourse of this literature is part of literary studies of religion, and the study of Bhakti Movement and its

[33] "No place for Hindi, Sanskrit in Germany's schools"; Fri, 28 Nov 2014-05:40 am, Daily News Analysis (DNA) http://www.dnaindia.com/mumbai/report-no-place-for-hindi-sanskrit-in-germany-s-schools-2039009.

tradition has relevance today, both as literary study of poets and literary genre. Their re-renderings illustrating certain dogmas give insights into how religious harmony was fostered instead of religious hatred in multi-religious society. These studies make 'Dharma' a synonym for religion a philosophical term as well. Hence, the continued presence of the Bhakti literature in Indian and Western universities attests its importance. Along with the migrant Indians who founded nations in colonial spaces, Hindi Bhakti literature reached the Caribbean Islands, Latin America, Africa and other Asian countries and is still a living tradition attesting the Indian migrant community's peaceful nature and accommodative spirit.

Bibliography

Books with One Author

1. Bachan Singh, 2000, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Doosara Ithihas*, New Delhi, Radhakrishna Prakashan, revised enlarged edition, first edition 1996. (Hindi)
2. D.C. Sircar, 1971, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, Motilal Banarasidas., p. 12.
3. D.N. Jha, 2009. *The Myth of a Holy Cow,* New Delhi, Navayana Publishing., first. Ed. 2001.
4. Debajani Ganguly, 2009. *Caste, Colonialism and Counter Modernity: Notes on a post colonical hermeneutics of caste*, London, Routledge.
5. George F. Mclean, Gen. Edit. 2004, *Islam, Sufism and Bhakti A Comparative Study: Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change series III B, South Asia* Volume. 9., Washington DC, The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy
6. Hajari Prasad Dwivedi, 2014. *Kabir: Kabir Ke Vyaktitwa, Sahitya Aur Darshanik Vicharom Ki Aalochana,* New Delhi, Rajkamal Prakashan (Hindi)
7. Nagendra, 1971, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Brhat Itihas*, *Utkarsh Kaal (Kavya),* Kashi, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Volume 10. (Hindi)
8. Rajkumar, 2015, *Hindi Ki Sahityik Sanskriti Aur Bharatiya Adhunikta,* New Delhi, Rajkamal Prakashan (Hindi)
9. Savarkar, V.D., 1969. *Hindutva: Who is a Hindu?* Bombay, Veer Savarkar Prakashan.
10. Susmita Pande, 1971, *Birth of Bhakti in Indian Religions and Art,* New Delhi, Book & Books, Janakapuri.

Books with Two or More Authors

11. Ganga Ram Garg (gen. ed.), 1992. *Encyclopeida of The Hindu World*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing House, Vol. 1. A-Aj.
12. Nagendra, edited. 2004, *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihas*, Noida, Mayur Paperback, 30th edition, first edition.1973. (Hindi)

Works Cited

13. Esther Bloch, Marianne Keppens and Raja Ram Hegde (ed.), 2010, *Rethinking Religion in India: The Colonial Construction of Hinduism,* London Routledge.
14. Harini Rani Aagar, 2014, *Bisvin Sadi ka Ramkatha Sahitya,* Kanpur, Samata Prakashan. (Hindi)

Edited Work with More Than an Author

15. Amit Choudhari, Ed. 2001, *The Picador Book of Modern Indian Literature,* London, Macmillan.
16. Ramchandra Shukla, Ed. 2012, *Bhramar-geet-sar,* Nagpur, Viswhabharti Prakashan. (Hindi)
17. Salih, M. Mohamed Salih, ed. 2005. *African Parliament: Between Governments and Governance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
18. Shyam Sundar Das, Ed. 2010, *Kabir Granthawali,* Allahabad, Lokbharati Prakashan (Hindi)

Whole Website with a Known Author

19. Nand Kishore Acharya, *Ahimsa Encyclopedia*, Wardha, Mahatma Gandhi International Hindi University, http://www.hindisamay.com/content/1920/4

Online Books & Journals

20. Consejo Indio de Relaciones Culturales, *Papeles de La India,* Volumen 45, Número 1, 2016
21. http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/37605/9/09_chapter%203.pdf

PITFALLS AND PEARLS OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES AT RUSSIAN SCHOOLS

Kamila Gainulina

Yulia Sergaeva

Russia has been a multicultural society. Nowadays it is becoming even more culturally diverse as newcomers abound. Therefore, new educational standards have been implemented and new subjects such as "Religious Studies" have gained significance.

Since 2012 it has become compulsory for students in the fourth grade [10 -11 year olds] to take a course in religious studies. The course provides its learners with several options for studying, but with no option to quit. The options to choose are "Secular Ethics", "Orthodox Culture Studies", "Islam Culture Studies", "Buddhism Culture Studies", "Jewish Culture Studies" and "World Religions Studies". According to the publishers, the subject is created with the aim to introduce world religions to students; to make their [students] acquainted with moral values and notions of spiritual culture.[1]

The idea of having religion at school remained [and still remains] questionable in my country. And here is the reason why – Russia had quite a controversial relationship with religion itself during the Soviet epoch, which lasted for almost a century. It was both impossible and improbable to exercise spiritual studies in any public institution. With the Communists in power religion became a banned topic and anti-religion campaigns were set up. In the second half of the 20th century the number of Christians in the USSR was roughly 70 million. There was no prohibition for children or young people to attend church. However, the government in that timeline strongly recommended bishops, senior priests and church wardens to make sure no one under 18 attended church. Police blocked entrance to church for the youth during big public Christian worship. Schooling system propagated atheism. Organized practices of other minor confessions were severely punished. Here is an extract from the book of Social Sciences: "Religion is a false, distorted reflection of the world in people's mind".[2] There were many more anti-religious thoughts, although this one is enough to understand why the subject provoked public backlash in 2013 as concerned parents [brought up on those books] initiated poll arguing the necessity of its presence at school. As a result, the society has been divided into those who support studying religion and those who are strongly against it. In this paper I will cover the main obstacles Russian education has been facing since the addition of religious studies to the core curriculum.

[1] Vladimir Petin, "Patriarh predlozhil rasshirit' "Osnovy religioznyh kul'tukj", Rossijskaja Gazeta, February 3, 2015, https://rg.ru/2015/02/03/kurs-religia-site.html.

[2] Igor' Shafarevich, Zakonodatel'stvo o religii v SSSR (Moskva: Institut russkoj civilizacii, 2014), 43–128.

In 2013 when Religious Studies became obligatory in all regions of Russia, a public opinion poll was held by a non-governmental research organization 'Levada Centre'. The poll showed that 22% of people were for adding the subject to the core curriculum. It is mostly the population of villages and small towns where religion remains powerful. 31% were not against the subject itself. However, they thought it would be better not to study it at schools because it was non-essential. 43% of Russians did not support the course at all, pointing out that it might have a detrimental effect in the long run.

The opponents were citizens of large cities where the society is heterogeneous if compared with villages. Among the numerous opponents was the head of muftis in Russia who highly recommended lessening the amount of modules only to "Secular Ethics". Experts from the Russian Academy of Sciences suggested cracking down the implementation due to its probable split in classroom environment. They also warned that representatives of various confessions would be supposedly to be engaged in missionary activities than in education. They would focus on their religion and its upholding which might lead to devastation. Besides, the experts found a great number of violations of the constitution in the books made for the course.[1]

In accordance with Article 14 of the Constitution "1. The Russian Federation is a secular state. No religion may be established as a state or obligatory one. 2. Religious associations shall be separated from the State and shall be equal before the law".[2] It is said in Article 19 that all the people are equal before the law and court. Their equality of rights and freedoms are guaranteed regardless of their religion.[3] Based on these articles, the conclusion is that no one has the right to impede with either spread of religious beliefs or atheistic tendencies.

The course violates the Constitution by offering only four religious modules studied together or separately. The course suggests taking one out of six modules. For instance, if a person is a Christian they will apparently attend "Orthodox Culture Studies"; if a person is a Muslim then it is "Islam Culture Studies" and so on and so forth. The reason for reducing the number of religions to four is obvious due to their being the most exercised ones around the globe. There are more than thirteen other confessions only in Saint Petersburg.[4] What are those thirteen others supposed to study if there is no module for them?

According to the Federal Law "On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Associations" everyone has the right to be taught religion outside the framework of the educational program by a religious organization. It can be obtained only upon the request of parents or guardians and with the agreement of children.[5] It means that

[1] Sergej Podosenov, "Rossijane vyskazalis' protiv prepodavanija religii v shkole", Izvestija, March 1, 2013, https://iz.ru/news/545876.

[2] "The Constitution of the Russian Federation," "Chapter 1. The Fundamentals of the Constitutional System", accessed May 12, 2017, http://www.constitution.ru/en/10003000-02.htm.

[3] See note 4 above.

[4] "Religioznye objedinenija i konfessii", Oficial'nyj sajt Administracii Sankt-Peterburga, accessed May 12, 2017, https://gov.spb.ru/helper/new_stat/religion/.

[5] "Russian Federation, Federal Law "On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Associations", accessed May 12, 2017, http://www.cesnur.org/testi/Russia.htm.

those minor confessions can have their own module within the course. There has been no such practice as in reality the majority wins.

What should be reminded here is the age of students. At the age 10 or 11 a child is not allowed to decide for themselves and choose whichever module they would like to take therefore it leads us to parents. They are grown-up, mature, and have their own points of view.

Usually if a family is Islam oriented then the child has to take the module for Muslims regardless of his/her wish. The child has to obey parents and take the course thanks to the government that empowers parents to do so. In this context, the following question might be raised: What if the child had close friends of different religion beliefs, would parents' action ruin his/her friendship with them? The answer is – yes. According to psychologist V. Krutetskiy social and emotional development description, the main characteristic of the given age is interpersonal communication. 10-11 year olds prefer travelling in peer groups. Friendships become vital and intense. There are often some certain behavioural patterns might be found within a peer group. Among children's needs at this stage of development are 1) a need to be a part of a group; 2) a need to feel independent.[6] Neither of the needs can be met if there is an educational item celebrating division in a peer group. Ramifications of the situation are the following: there is a split in-class environment as a possible ground for discrimination found. As a result, it creates obstacles to normal socialization of child at school and impedes child's education in general. The modules cannot be taken individually. It is parents' job to make a decision for the whole class, so they have to make an agreement. Once again, students' sense of independency cannot be satisfied as they are not asked which module they would like to study.

Another issue should be addressed in this relation. Russian schools lack teachers specialized in religious studies. In fact, there are none. Those teaching the subject today were to have intensive professional development [the course duration is only 72 hours] and they are mostly teachers of history, art, and life safety teachers.

What goes well beyond reason is that teachers were not given any unified teaching material when the subject came into practice. Thus, they either had to make it up themselves or to use dubious ones. In one of such related material was a task to fill in the gaps with the following commandments – do not steal, do not lie and do not commit adultery. How is the teacher supposed to explain to 10 -11 year olds what adultery is?[7]

Today there are plenty of teaching materials brought to help the teachers with their subject. The teaching materials were not tailor-made for the course beforehand. On the contrary, it was teachers who had to deal with creating lesson plans and tasks. What concerns the course books is that they still remain the same with no alternative provided. The materials are of the same publishing house. What is interesting about

[6] Vadim Kruteckij, Psihologija: Uchebnik dlja uchashhihsja ped. uchilish (Moskva: Prosveshhenie, 1982, 352, http://www.p-lib.ru/psihologia/krutetskii/krutetskii81.html.

[7] Andrej Moiseenko and Elena Krivjakina, "Chemu uchat nashih detej na urokah religii", Komsomol'skaja pravda, October 4, 2012, https://www.spb.kp.ru/daily/25961.4/2900377/.

the book on "Orthodox Culture Studies" is that it was written by deacon A. Kuraev. Hence, certain doubts about the book can be harboured. Here are the extracts of some tasks from the book:

> Why do you think people compare God's love to humans with father's love? Expand on that.
> Can it be possible to say that Ivan is an orthodox believer? [The question is based on the story told in the book].
> What does it mean to be an orthodox believer?
> Which of the below-mentioned words can be regarded as relating to the Heavens in the pray Our Father": cloud, dawn, the Kingdom of God, the space, angel, galaxy? [The chapter supplied with the prayer "Our Father"].
> Look at the picture of cross in the book. Draw it. Explain the meaning of every detail.[8]

In my opinion, the author of the book is genuinely interested in missionary approach than in telling the history of Orthodoxy. Moreover, I find the tasks inappropriate for 10 – 11 year olds.

Among other cases of teaching "Religious Studies" related to missionary activities conducted by teachers is the further-mentioned. Students of one of schools in Veliky Ustyug went to gallery of Orthodox icons [in 2016]. The next day they were supposed to have a test in mathematics, so they brought small icons to school. When the students were asked the reason they had decided to do, so they said they had hoped "guardian angel" would help them in doing the test. By the way, visiting holy places is the part of the studying the subject at least in Veliky Ustyug. Besides, the subject is planned to be taught in kindergartens in the long run.[9]

Education serves as a vital element in forming one's understanding about the world and human nature. Among other key points, which education celebrates, are love, compassion, and tolerance. In the world full of bias and propaganda of wrong values, it is crucially important to teach kids both about religion and universally accepted moral values. Teaching about religion at schools mustn't have connotation of practicing faith or learning about one particular religion. It is better to be about all religions simultaneously in order to avoid any probable split in the classroom and to allow youngsters to grasp cultural diversity.

As it has been already mentioned the idea of having religion at school stemmed from multiculturalism of our country. That is, why I would like to make a small way back to get into the swing of things with the notion of multiculturalism. There is no universally accepted definition of the term "multiculturalism". However, I will bring to the table those definitions that I find crucial for my paper.

---

[8] Andrej Kuraev, Osnovy pravoslavnoj kul'tury (Moskva: Prosveshhenie, 2010), 4–30.

[9] "Predmet «Istoki». Religioznaja propaganda v shkole", accessed May 15, 2017, http://kritix.ru/religion-and-atheism/2299-predmet-istoki-religioznaya-propaganda-v-shkol.

1. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines multiculturalism as " … the presence of, or support for the presence of, several distinct cultural or ethnic groups within a society".[10]

2. T. Horntvedt refers to the notion as "… an ideology or doctrine of several cultures. The term is normally used to describe coexistence between different cultural and ethnic groups within a demographic area".[11]

3. In the BBC article there is a definition by chief of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth L. Sacks. Sacks argues that "… the current meaning of multiculturalism is part of the wider European phenomenon of moral relativism …" He says that "multiculturalism was intended to create a more tolerant society, one in which everyone, regardless of colour, creed, or culture, felt at home". Moreover, he adds that multiculturalism's message is "there is no need to integrate". Sacks promotes the idea of multiculturalism being a relativistic concept. Therefore, it serves as a tool for dissolving national identity, shared values and the so-called collective identity. That is, exactly why he reasons out the idea of integration.[12]

4. *Christian Educators Journal* in one of its articles also offers a definition of multiculturalism stating that "… it is an ideology that celebrates the diversity of cultures [especially traditionally oppressed groups] and emphasizes their contributions to society". It is underlined that the notion is purely reductionistic which means that it reduces us [people] in our concepts about humans and divides us into various strata in accordance with our race, gender, sexual orientation and class.[13] I would like to contribute and add religion here as well.

Among the three above-mentioned, I find the first and the second definitions crucial in that they do not provide us with any negative connotations while, in my view, the latter two do. The reason is that the two notions disseminate the idea of having a split in a multicultural society. Anyway, any idea has the right for existence due to the fact that we all interpret the world in different ways and sometimes [unfortunately] these ways might be found in our everyday grind.

That is the point where I get back to Russian schools and religion. Considering the multicultural trait of Russian society, it is seen that our government has apparently decided to take into consideration the third notion of multiculturalism, thus adding the Religious Studies to the core curriculum. I had already brought an example of probable classroom division given that a family are firm believers of one specific faith.

Here are situations which took place in real life.

Concerned parents continue their endeavors to fight the system using the Internet. On the website devoted to the Internet conference on School education and

[10] "Oxford Living Dictionaries: multiculturalism", accessed May 15, 2017, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/multiculturalism.

[11] Tone Horntvedt, Intercultural Health Work (Drammen, Norway: Forlaget Vett & Viten, 2015), 24.

[12] "Multiculturalism: What does it mean?", BBC News, February 7, 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-12381027.

[13] Paul Fessler, "The Beauty of Diversity and the Problem of Multiculturalism", October 4, 2013, http://www.cejonline.com/article/the-beauty-of-diversity-and-the-problem-of-multiculturalism/.

extracurricular activities the following concern was discussed: "The majority of parents have signed for "Secular Ethics" and "Orthodox Culture Studies". Now, the principal makes us change the decision in favour of "World Religions Studies" as there is no teacher specialized in the subject at school. The new teacher is currently having intensive training in Orthodox Studies. Last year, the teacher made an orthodox pilgrimage. That means the teacher is Orthodox-oriented. How is it possible that an objective opinion will be given in lessons?"[14]

Apart from discriminating children and parents on the ground of having the module they agreed on by mutual consent, the system makes them choose another module with a specialist from a different field. The awareness of the parent is understandable and to the point. Given that the teacher is an Orthodox believer will he/she educate 10-11 year olds appropriately? The effectiveness of such studies is also in question. Besides, what else should be noted is that teachers sometimes are also made to have training in the field that probably is not interested to them. The problem is neither the teacher is the one to decide, nor the students or parents. Everything depends on the conditions given and the latter usually varies from school to school as the examples illustrate.

Above all, teachers of Tobolsk schools were deeply disappointed about the training they had to undergo. First and foremost, it was not done in a pedagogical institution but in a Christian theological seminary, not by teachers but by clerics. Secondly, teachers were forbidden to have trousers on and had to pray before meal. Thirdly, some teachers were of different faith. Similarly, the teachers do not see a positive outcome of the subject as they claim that it has already been the part of lessons on history. Only "Secular Ethics" receives a positive feedback. Nonetheless, the latter is taught at the expense of such subjects as "Russian Literature" or "Russian Language".[15]

It appears that the idea has fallen flat from the very beginning and we are stuck now in worsening conditions. There was a case in a Kursk school when the teacher of "Orthodox Culture Studies" said to her students that if they would eat meat at fast time they would definitely go to hell. As a result, one student refused to eat meat at all.[16]

In 2016, there was an attempt to sue a school in Moscow for the imposition of religious ideology on children. Parents of students taught "Religious Studies" lodged a complaint to the Prosecution's Office after finding out that their children had to learn the notions of holy water, devilry, and guardian angels.[17]

[14] "Osnovy relishii v shkole: za i protiv", Moi-Portal.ru, accessed May 20, 2017, http://moi-portal.ru/blogi/125303-osnovy-religiy-v-shkolakh-za-i-protiv/.

[15] See note 16 above.

[16] See note 9 above.

[17] Elena Jakovleva, "V RPC prokommentirovali situaciju vokrug kursa "Istoki" v shkole", Rossijskaja Gazeta, December 9, 2016, https://rg.ru/2016/12/09/roditeli-pozhalovalis-v-prokuraturu-na-uroki-pravoslaviia-v-shkole.html.

To my mind the issue is far from being over. Although the subject is taught only for one academic year I am afraid it might have a knock-on effect on the entire nation in the future. At the age of 10 – 11 years' children begin a phase of a great emotional change. Decision-making skills are still in the process of development. At this very point children start searching for their true identity that can be influenced by numerous factors including gender, cultural background, peers, family, and teachers. I assume that explains why wrong methods to teach religion related topics poses a threat at this period of one's life. It is the age when children can be easily manipulated because it is the time when they start differentiating between the good and the bad. Anyone's will, beliefs, self-determination can be imposed on children at this age.[18]

I would like to draw attention to the word 'multiculturalism' once again because of its vital importance to the paper. One of the stems of the word is "culture". That is why, a vital remark concerning cultural aspect must be made here. G. Hofstede has defined six dimensions within a national culture. They are "Power Distance", "Individualism", "Masculinity", "Uncertainty Avoidance", "Long Term Orientation" and Indulgence". "… the cultural dimensions represent independent preferences for one state of affairs over another that distinguish countries [rather than individuals] from each other".[19]

This paper focuses only on the notion of "Power Distance". "Power Distance is the degree to which the less powerful members of a society accept and expect that power is distributed unequally".[20] Applying Power Distance to educational settings we can distinguish between the so-called "Small Power Distance" and "Large Power Distance".

The model of Small Power Distance is characterized by student-cantered education in which the teacher respects and takes into consideration students' opinion; students feel free to initiate communication in the lesson or speak up whenever they want to. Moreover, students may argue with the teacher expressing their own points of view. Personal "truth" that can be obtained by anybody is stressed in the model.

The model of Large Power Distance is characterized by teacher-cantered education where the authoritarian way of teaching is celebrated. The teacher must not be criticized or contradicted by students but always revered and listened to. Personal "wisdom" that can only be got from the teacher is stressed in the model.

V. Pogosian examines Hofstede's models with scrutiny in order to find out the one that our school system has. According to V. Pogosian Russian education is recognized as having the "Large Power Distance" model. "In Russia, there is a great psychological and physical distance between teachers and students. Teachers are usually dressed in an official way, and they address the pupils with their surnames. Students should be obedient and respect the teacher. There is a strict hierarchy in

[18] See note 8 above.

[19] Geert Hofstede, "Cultural Dimensions", accessed May 15, 2017, https://geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html.

[20] See note 21 above.

student – teacher relationships. The roles of teachers and pupils are very strictly defined".[21] I cannot disagree more with the above-mentioned as I had 10 years of schooling and almost a year of practice as a teacher. Although I must say that the situation is changing and nowadays it depends on teachers mostly. Young teachers tend to be more democratic in comparison with the experienced ones. There's an evident shift in student-teacher relationships in the lessons thanks to the almighty source of knowledge named the Internet. Every piece of information given by the teacher can be checked right away. Still, some teachers, when confronted, suppress vigorously any doubt from students. There was a curious case when I was 14. My class had a test after which we found out that the same answer was marked differently by the teacher. Some students ticked the answer 'false' and received a point for it. Some students were also given a point for ticking it 'true'. Others received nothing, although the answer was either 'true' or 'false'. The most sensible way to find out the truth was to ask the teacher, what we did accordingly. We were blamed for counting points and kept in disgrace during the lesson. Everything was said in a really rude way. The whole situation seemed to us very unpleasant and unjust. The sad thing was that the class never knew which answer was correct. Situations of that kind take place at Russian universities as well. For instance, it was forbidden for students (studying methodology of teaching English) to even think about bringing the idea of teaching English idioms at school. The reason was that some notable USSR scholars as Passov or Shatilov claimed it was useless to teach idioms at school. The information dates back to 1970ss. As a result, I had to take the risk of pioneering in that field [at least in my university] and prove that many things have changed since then and that area should have been given a closer look. While doing research I found out that there were a few works in Russia related to the subject. It could be explained by that teacher prohibition of analysing the topic that must have taken place not only in my town but in the whole country. All the works were 2-3 years old whereas in the USA such research has been already conducting since the previous century.[22]

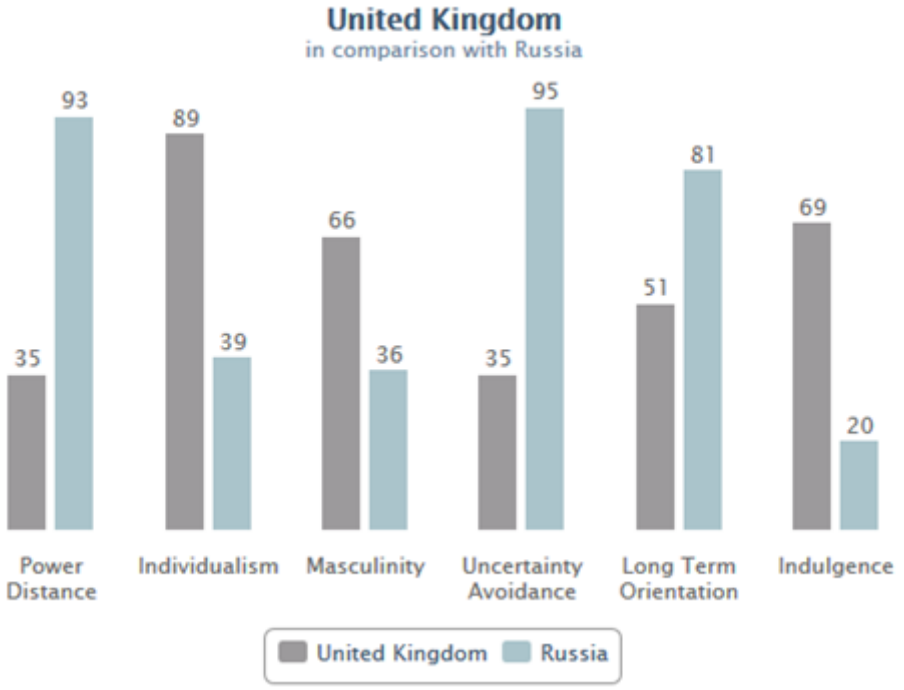
Considering the fact that our educational system has the "Large Power Distance" model in teaching, I find it quite impossible to study religion-related subjects at school. I am afraid to ponder over possible ideas that can be planted into young inexperienced minds in the institution where the only source of knowledge is the teacher and the knowledge [with opinion added].

Although "Religious Studies" in Russian schools take a lot of flak, in Europe and some Western countries they have been in common practice for a long time. Religious education, for instance, in the United Kingdom is compulsory as well as in

[21] Viktoria Pogosian, "Russian Pre-Service and Young In-Service Teachers' Views on Cultural Dimensions of Russian Education: Power Distance", Intercultural communication in educational settings vol. 3, no. 2 (2016), https://journals.hioa.no/index.php/fleks/issue/view/211.

[22] Dilin Liu, "The Most Frequently Used Spoken American English Idioms: A Corpus Analysis and Its Implications", A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages and of Standard English as a Second Dialect vol 37., no.4 (2003): 671–700.

Finland or Norway and in many other countries around the globe.[23] Although it is stated in the National UK curriculum that religious education is compulsory but, "…parents can withdraw their children for all or part of the lessons. Pupils can choose to withdraw themselves once they're 18".[24] That proves the thought of probable advantage of teaching the subject which is seen by many educators. One of the universally recognized advantages is that the subject helps shape children's moral values and principles.[25] The sticking point of the matter with Russia is its "Large Power Distance". If we compare it with the UK, we get the further results [the data is provided by G. Hofstede's centre]:[26]



Power Distance in Finland is 33 and in Norway it is even lower – 31. It is obvious from the table that Russia [sadly] scores off in the "Power Distance competition". The fact allows us to understand the stumbling blocks our schooling has in teaching religion.

I cannot understand why Russian Ministry of Education has set us out on the downward spiral path in terms of upbringing and education. I do strongly believe that a happily existing multicultural society can only be the secular one so there won't be any discrimination in the name of religion.

As government continues treading the nonchalant way, the head of the Russian Orthodox Church suggests the course prolonging to eight years. I cannot imagine what students will study during eight years of religion and what education they will get in the end. Russian Minister of Education O. Vasilyeva has promised

[23] "Religious Education in Finland", accessed May 15, 2017, http://www.suol.fi/index.php/religious-education-in-finland.

[24] "The National Curriculum", The National Curriculum: Other Compulsory Subjects - GOV.UK, accessed May 15, 2017, https://www.gov.uk/national-curriculum/other-compulsory-subjects.

[25] Audun Toft, "Religious Education in Norway:Distance and Unease", accessed May 15, 2017, http://religiongoingpublic.com/archive/2016/religious-education-in-norway-distance-and-unease.

[26] Geert Hofstede, "Country Comparison", accessed May 15, 2017, https://geert-hofstede.com/countries.html.

recently to prolong the religious course at schools. The minister said that extra classes on "Religious Studies" would substitute classes of second foreign language.[27] Apparently, our minister believes that communication with God is much better than communication with people speaking other languages. What cannot go without noticing is the fact that O. Vasilyeva is the head of the department of Religious Studies at one of Moscow universities.

To sum up, I would like to enumerate the problems our country has either faced or still facing while teaching Religious Studies:

1. The violation of the Constitution that is seen as church intervention in education while Russia is a secular state. Lessening the number of religions practiced in Russia to only four.
2. The shortage of specialists and insufficient training of teachers. The course that one has to study for several years at university in order to become a specialist in religious studies is taught in 72 hours at clerical institutions.
3. Only one book required for the subject with no alternatives.
4. Inappropriate tasks in the book "Orthodox Culture Studies" and in teaching materials [the above-mentioned examples].
5. Authoritarian way of teaching and "Large Power Distance" that becomes a problem in such a neat field as religion.
6. Teaching "Religious Studies" at the expense of some other subjects.
7. Negative attitude of parents and teachers towards the subject.
8. The deliberate division of classroom according to religious background.

I must admit I find "Secular Ethics" vitally important for schooling. Based on the opinion polls that were mentioned, it is clear that the subject is also supported by parents and is received with respect by teachers. What I see as a possible solution is the joint teaching of basic notions of world religions in collaboration with secular ethics. I am taking the liberty to assume that it will reap benefits in educating youngsters. It will not impede but nourish social and emotional development of children. Moreover, it will contribute to cultural integration of diverse societies as students having different cultural backgrounds study the same subject. The integration in a multicultural society is strictly necessary. If there is no integration, there is a split and a gloomy future. Yet, there is the shortage of specialists that creates obstacles to healthy education. Therefore, a public opinion poll is essential to be held to find out whether the nation needs religion at school or not.

References

1. Fessler, Paul. "The Beauty of Diversity and the Problem of Multiculturalism", October 4, 2013, http://www.cejonline.com/article/the-beauty-of-diversity-and-the-problem-of-multiculturalism/.

[27] "Ministr obrazovanija Rossii: urokov religii v shkole stanet bol'she", BBC Russkaja Sluzhba, October 5, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/russian/news-37560805.

2. Horntvedt, Tone. Intercultural Health Work. Drammen, Norway: Forlaget Vett & Viten, 2015.
3. Jakovleva, Elena. “V RPC prokommentirovali situaciju vokrug kursa “Istoki” v shkole”, Rossijskaja Gazeta, December 9, 2016, https://rg.ru/2016/12/09/roditeli-pozhalovalis-v-prokuraturu-na-uroki-pravoslaviia-v-shkole.htm
4. Kruteckij, Vadim. Psihologija: Uchebnik dlja uchashhihsja ped. uchilish. Moskva: Prosveshhenie, 1982. http://www.p-lib.ru/psihologia/krutetskii/krutetskii81.html.
5. Kuraev,Andrej. Osnovy pravoslavnoj kul'tury. Moskva: Prosveshhenie, 2010.
6. Liu, Dilin. “The Most Frequently Used Spoken American English Idioms: A Corpus Analysis and Its Implications”, *A Journal for Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages and of Standard English as a Second Dialect vol 37., no.4* (2003): 671–700.
7. “Ministr obrazovanija Rossii: urokov religii v shkole stanet bol'she”, BBC Russkaja Sluzhba, October 5, 2016, http://www.bbc.com/russian/news-37560805.
8. Moiseenko, Andrej, and Elena Krivjakina, “Chemu uchat nashih detej na urokah religii”, Komsomol'skaja pravda, October 4, 2012, https://www.spb.kp.ru/daily/25961.4/2900377/.
9. Oficial'nyj sajt Administracii Sankt-Peterburga. “Religioznye objedinenija i konfessii”. Accessed May 12, 2017, https://gov.spb.ru/helper/new_stat/religion/.
10. Petin, Vladimir. “Patriarh predlozhil rasshirit' “Osnovy religioznyh kul'tukj”, Rossijskaja Gazeta, February 3, 2015, https://rg.ru/2015/02/03/kurs-religia-site.html.
11. Pogosian,Viktoria. “Russian Pre-Service and Young In-Service Teachers’ Views on Cultural Dimensions of Russian Education: Power Distance”, *Intercultural communication in educational settings vol. 3,* no. 2 (2016), https://journals.hioa.no/index.php/fleks/issue/view/211.
12. Podosenov, Sergej. “Rossijane vyskazalis' protiv prepodavanija religii v shkole”, Izvestija, March 1, 2013, https://iz.ru/news/545876.
13. “Predmet «Istoki». Religioznaja propaganda v shkole”. Accessed May 15, 2017, http://kritix.ru/religion-and-atheism/2299-predmet-istoki-religioznaya-propaganda-v-shkol.
14. “Russian Federation, Federal Law “On Freedom of Conscience and on Religious Associations”. Accessed May 12, 2017, http://www.cesnur.org/testi/Russia.htm.
15. Shafarevich, Igor'. Zakonodatel'stvo o religii v SSSR. Moskva: Institut russkoj civilizacii, 2014.
16. Toft, Audun. “Religious Education in Norway:Distance and Unease”. Accessed May 15, 2017, http://religiongoingpublic.com/archive/2016/religious-education-in norway- distance-and-unease.
17. “The Constitution of the Russian Federation,” “Chapter 1. The Fundamentals of the Constitutional System”. Accessed May 12, 2017, http://www.constitution.ru/en/10003000-02.html.

18. The National Curriculum: Other Compulsory Subjects - GOV.UK.“The National Curriculum”. Accessed May 15, 2017, https://www.gov.uk/national-curriculum/other compulsory-subjects.
19. “Multiculturalism: What does it mean?”, BBC News, February 7, 2011, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-12381027.
20. Hofstede, Geert. “Country Comparison”. Accessed May 15, 2017, https://geert-hofstede.com/countries.html.
21. Hofstede, Geert. “Cultural Dimensions”. Accessed May 15, 2017, https://geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html.
22. “Oxford Living Dictionaries: multiculturalism”. Accessed May 15, 2017, https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/multiculturalism.
23. “Religious Education in Finland”, accessed May 15, 2017, http://www.suol.fi/index.php/religious-education-in-finland.
24. “Osnovy relishii v shkole: za i protiv”. Accessed May 20, 2017, http://moi-portal.ru/blogi/125303-osnovy-religiy-v-shkolakh-za-i-protiv/.

ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS OF EGYPT AND EGYPTIAN LEADERSHIP (XX BEGINNING OF XXI CENTURIES)

Vladlen Makoukh

Founded in Ismailiyya in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna, a layman educated at the Teachers' Training College, the Muslim Brotherhood grew dramatically during the 1930s, and by the end of decade it had 500 branches throughout Egypt and a membership numbering tens of thousands. The program of the Brotherhood was a mixture of the traditional and the innovative. It was traditional in that al-Banna believed that the social and political regeneration of Egypt was intimately tied to the restoration of Islam as a guiding force in national life. To this end, he called for the implementation of the Shari'ah, arguing that the problems from which Egypt suffered could be traced to the replacement of Quranic principles by secular legal and political institutions. However, al-Banna's insistence on the restoration of the Shari'ah did not imply a simplistic resurrection of the past. As Muhammad Abduh had done earlier, al-Banna sought to find a way for Muslims to take advantage of the technological advances of the twentieth century without feeling that they were compromising their commitment to Islamic values. He argued, much as Abduh had, that the Shari'ah was originally formulated to meet a specific set of historical circumstances and was thus a product of informed human reasoning. For al-Banna, the restored Shari'ah would be subject to interpretation and would hence be fully compatible with the needs of a modern society. The lack of specificity in al-Banna's political proposals should not detract from the power of vision; he called forth not so much an Islamic state as an Islamic order that – precisely because of its Islamic basis – would ensure social justice, economic well-being, and political harmony.

The Brotherhood's direct appeal to Islam-based social reform and social responsibility constituted part of its attraction. While the politicians bickered, the Brotherhood acted and made its presence felt across a broad spectrum of Egyptian society. Al-Banna advocated such economic reforms as land redistribution, the introduction of social welfare programs, and the replacement of foreign capital by local investment. The Brotherhood forged close ties with Egypt emergent labour movement and defended workers' demands for union protection and unemployment benefits. It also established enterprises of its own, most notably in the fields of weaving, transportation, and construction, and granted workers shareholding rights in these companies. In an effort to bridge the gap that split Egyptian society into secular and religious spheres, Al-Banna's followers founded primary schools that tried to combine religious instruction with training in scientific and technical subjects. The organization also provided material assistance to society's underprivileged by establishing free medical clinics and setting up soup kitchens to feed the urban poor during the height of the depression. In this extensive range of activities, the Muslim Brotherhood manifested al-Banna's belief that social justice was more than a matter of legislation; it was in effect part of a social ethos that could be realized only by a return to Islamic values.

The appeal of the Muslim Brotherhood was widespread and cut across class lines. It became the focus for those who were marginalized by Egypt's disruptive transformation. To the urban poor, and especially to the large number of them who were recent migrants from the countryside, the organization offered material assistance, communal associations, and spiritual comfort. The Brotherhood also attracted a large following among university students, who faced the prospect of low paying civil service jobs and a lifetime of frustrated expectations. The young were drawn as well by the Brotherhood's intransigent stand on complete independence and its denunciation of the Treaty of 1936 and all the compromises associated with that agreement. And to all who felt adrift in a world of changing values and increasingly complex relationships, the Brotherhood represented the stability of Islamic values and offered the hope that they could be incorporated into the uncertain future. The powerful combination of appeals allowed the Muslim Brotherhood to emerge from World War II as a potent force in Egyptian politics. Despite the outward trapping of secularism that were so much in evidence during the years of the liberal experiment, Egyptian society as a whole remained firmly committed to its Islamic roots. And despite the symbolic recognition of the country's sovereignty in the Treaty of1936 and its admission to the League of Nations in 1937, the presence of British troops in the Canal Zone suggested that in times of crisis for the British Empire, London, not Cairo, would chart Egypts' course. World War II was to present such a crisis (Cleveland, 2004, pp.199-201).

After the World War II one of the main causes of the alienation of the masses from their ruling elite was the growing gap between rich and poor. This was clearly evident in the Egyptian countryside as large private landholdings became increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few owners. By 1952 about 0,4 percent of Egyptian landowners possessed 35 percent of the country's cultivable land. This situation cried out for redress, but the leaders of the Wafd and other political parties derived their wealth and social status from ownership of land and were not inclined to address the issue of rural reform. The festering discontent in the countryside had its counterpart in Cairo and Alexandria where the expanding labor force lived and worked in substandard conditions. Although postwar governments did manage to introduce limited social welfare legislation, it was inadequate to ameliorate mass poverty or to allay mass distrust of the ruling politicians.

In this volatile atmosphere, the Muslim Brotherhood expanded its activities and reached the apogee of its power. By the late 1940s it could claim over 500,000 members and many more sympathizers. Egyptians were attracted to the Brotherhood by its blending of calls for national independence and the preservation of Islamic values with an appealing program of social reform. In the immediate post-war years, militant members of the Brotherhood engaged in a systematic campaign of violence against foreigners, foreign business establishments, and Egyptian officials regarded as accomplices of imperialism. When Prime Minister Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi attempted to calm down on the organization's activities in 1948, the Brotherhood assassinated him. The following year Hasan al-Banna, the founding leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, was himself murdered, most likely by the Egyptian security

forces. These acts demonstrate the extent of the political disorder and social disarray into which Egypt had plunged during the final years of the old regime (Cleveland, 2004, pp.302- 303).

Once the Free Officers assumed power, they formed themselves into a Nasser-led organization called the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), which served as the executive body of the government. The RCC's main rival for power was the Muslim Brotherhood, which was far and away the most popular political organization in the country. At the time of the coup in 1952, many of the Free Officers had close ties to the Brotherhood, as each hoped eventually to control the other. They could not, however, coexist, and in 1954 the RCC was provided with an excuse to strike when a member of the Brotherhood tried to assassinate Nasser. The RCC retaliated by outlawing the brotherhood, executing six of its leaders, and imprisoning thousands of its members. The organization was driven underground, but it was neither forgotten nor eliminated and would be heard from again (Cleveland, 2004, p.306).

Nasser has sometimes been compared to Ataturk. To the extent that both men were reformers, determined to free their countries from foreign domination, the comparison is apt. However, the Egyptian regime's relationship with Islam and the religious establishment was very different from Ataturk's. Rather than seeking to diminish the role of Islam in Egyptian society, Nasser recognized the appeal of Islamic institutions and attempted to bring them under the control of the state and then to use them in the service of the revolution. This is particularly evident in the regime's policies toward al-Azhar University, the venerable institution of Islamic learning and the principal training ground for the Egyptian ulama. Previous governments had either bypassed al-Azhar and its powerful ulama or engaged in bitter and largely unsuccessful attempts to dominate them. The Nasser government had recourse to direct action. In 1961 al-Azhar was reorganized by government decree and forced to accept the addition of four new, nonreligious faculties; medicine, engineering, agriculture, and an Islamic women's faculty. The effect of the reorganization reduced the authority of the rector of al-Azhar and gave the government control over the university's curriculum and the appointment of its administrators and teachers. The government also gained control of waqfs and destroyed the last bastion of the ulama's judicial power by abolishing the shari'ah courts in 1955. Through these measures, the regime tried to prevent Islamic functionaries from acting as independent political force without itself appearing to be an opponent of Islam.

The regime did not hesitate to utilize Islamic institutions to legitimize its policies. The Friday mosque sermons were prepared by government propagandists and contained glowing references to the compatibility of the government's goals with the principles of Islam. Following the nationalization decrees of 1961, prominent government-appointed ulama were persuaded to issue decrees and write articles on the harmony between Islam and Arab socialism. Thus, a book published in 1962 on the compatibility of religion and the charter affirmed that "Arab socialism is guided by the Shari'ah of justice and the Shari'ah of god". Such exploitation of Islam for

political purposes illustrates how far removed the Nasser regime was from secularism of Ataturk. (Cleveland, 2004, pp.320-321)[1].

When President Anwar Sadat assumed the presidency in 1970, he feared that elements of the political left posed the greatest threat to his tenuous hold on power. He sought to counter this threat by allowing representatives of what was known as "the Islamic tendency" to return to the political arena. Sadat released long-imprisoned members of the Muslim Brotherhood and authorized the Brotherhood to publish its periodical, al-Da'wa (The Call), which rapidly achieved a circulation of over 100,000. In addition, Sadat used Islamic symbols to bolster his political legitimacy. He gave himself the title "the believer-president" and used the Egyptian media to cultivate an image of personal piety.

By permitting Islamic issues and symbols to become a prominent part of public discourse, Sadat unleashed forces that came to pose a major challenge to his regime. Despite his attempts to portray himself as pious Muslim, his lavish style of living, his and his wife's preference for European designer clothes, and his agreement to a treaty with Israel all served to make him a target of criticism for the Islamic forces he had originally tried to manipulate. In addition, the failure of Sadat's Infitah, or open-door economic policy, to benefit the majority after 1973 led to widespread opposition to his regime. The most militant opposition was organized by Egyptian youth and was expressed in Islamic terms.

The second dimension to Egypt's Islamic protest movement was provided by militant underground organizations. By the late 1970s, there were as many as twenty such groups operating in Egypt, but two of them – al Takfir wa al-Hijrah and Al-Jihad – achieved special notoriety. Although there were differences between the two organizations, both of them found their ideological inspiration in the writings of Sayyid Qutb, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood who was executed by the Nasser regime in 1966. His Ma'alim fi al-Tariq (Signposts on the Road), written while Qutb was in prison and published in 1964, stated that the primary function of government was to ensure the enforcement of God's law. As long as rulers carried out that function, it was incumbent upon Muslims to obey them. But once rulers ceased to base their legislation on the Shari'ah, they and their governments were no longer Islamic – they were Jahiliyyah, ignorant of Islam. Qutb argued that true Muslims were bound to disobey Jahiliyyah governments and to destroy them by whatever means necessary in order to restore the Shari'ah. Such governments, because they were non-Islamic, were legitimate objects of jihad, sacred struggle in the cause of Islam. In Qutb's view, the Nasser regime was in a state of Jahiliyyah; in the view of his younger disciples, Sadat's government fell into the same category.

[1] Secularism (separation of state and religion) was the result of Atatürk's reforms (1922-1935). This principle, unlike in western countries, had not been realized by the evolutionary currents, but rather by direct and resolute action and revolutionary enthusiasm of a small elite predominantly composed of bureaucrats and army officers. The Turkish intelligentsia led by Atatürk sought secularism as a modernizing principle and a progressive idea covering not only the political and governmental life but a whole social and cultural milieu which was, in its core and nature, dominated by superstitions and dogmas. Indeed, those factors substantially hindered a modernization process in the Turkish society.

The programs of al-Takfir and al-Jihad called for the violent overthrow of Sadat's impious regime by a vanguard of purified Muslims who would then restore the Shari'ah. Interviews conducted by Egyptian scholars revealed that the membership of the organizations, though comprising a share of semiliterate slum dwellers, was dominated by university students and recent graduates, many of whom had achieved entry into the most demanding – and the most secular - faculties, such as medicine, pharmacy, and engineering. These students and graduates tended to come from small towns and villages to urban universities, where they experienced the alienation of city life. They turned to the Islamic associations of their upbringing as an anchor in a society they found morally confusing and economically unpromising. Their disillusionment over their prospects for employment and their search for an Islamic alternative to the society in which they should have achieved status and opportunity, but had not, stood as glaring condemnation of the failure of the state to offer them hope for the future.

In 1977, members of al-Takfir wa al-Hijrah took hostage a former minister of religious endowments in order to force the release of imprisoned members of their organization. When the government refused to deal with the kidnappers, they killed their hostage. The regime retaliated by arresting and executing the leaders of al-Takfir and imprisoning scores of young Islamic militants. From that point until the death of Sadat, his regime and Islamic organizations were in open confrontation. When Egypt signed the treaty with Israel in 1979, the leaders of al-Jihad condemned Sadat for surrendering Jerusalem to the Jews. The organization claimed that Sadat was infidel and was a ruler to whom the duty of jihad applied. His assassination in October 1981 by members of al-jihad was intended to remove a non-Islamic despot and to usher in a popular revolution that would lead to the establishment of a proper Islamic state. Although there were disturbances in several cities following Sadat's death, there were no mass uprising and the central state survived intact.

Under President Mubarak, the Islamic organizations continued their activities and Egyptian society at large continued to demand the restoration of Islam to a prominent position in public life. Although the violence of the radical minority groups subsided during the 1980s, the attraction of Islam as mainstream opposition movement increased. The Muslim Brotherhood, once the spearhead of Islamic militancy, became the representative of the moderate, centrist Islamic political movement. It expanded its influence on university campuses and gained control of the boards of the leading professional organizations (physicians, lawyers, and engineers). In keeping with its original mission, the Brotherhood also worked with volunteer organizations engaged in medical, educational, and social welfare activities. Although the regime prohibited any religious organization from becoming a recognized political party, some members of the Muslim Brotherhood gained parliamentary seats by running as independents. By the late 1980s, deputies from the Brotherhood and sympathizers from the legal parties formed the largest opposition bloc in parliament. This provided them with a public forum in which to express their demands for the revision of Egypt's secular statutes. The government responded to these pressures by pledging to review existing laws to see that they conformed to the

Shari'ah and by banning alcohol in all areas considered "non-touristic". Such gestures may have demonstrated the government's awareness of the latent power of the Islamic impulse within society, but they did nothing to resolve the causes of popular disaffection that led to the Islamic resurgence in the first place. As the regime tinkered ineffectively at the edges of Egypt's problems, ever-greater numbers of Egyptians embraced the possibility of an Islamic-inspired solution to the economic hardships, social malaise, and cultural alienation for which the secular state was held responsible (Cleveland, 2004, pp.445-448).

Insisting that the Muslim Brotherhood was part of the Islamist onslaught, Mubarak used new 'antiterror' legislation to detain leading members and took action to engineer government control of mosques, preachers and professional syndicates. He was adamant in refusing to allow it to participate in the political arena under its own name. And he blatantly rigged elections to ensure that his National Democratic Party retained its monopoly on power. When a group of disillusioned members of the Muslim Brotherhood joined forces with leftists, Nasserites and Copts to launch a new political party, Hizb al-Wasat, aimed at bridging the divide between Arab nationalists and Islamists and advocating a joint role for Muslims and Christians, the government refused to register it. Several of its founders and members were arrested and tried before a military court accused of 'joining an illegal and secret group which aims to overthrow the ruling regime'. Seven were sentenced to prison terms. In the run-up to elections in 2000, the government arrested scores of Muslim Brothers and other Islamist sympathizers to prevent them from standing at candidates and organizing campaigns.

Mubarak's strategy of repression largely succeeded in crushing violent Islamist opposition. Both Gamaa Islamiyya and Jamaat al-Jihad gave up the struggle. But the Islamic tide nevertheless continued to rise. Islamic revival took hold not only among the mass of impoverished Egyptians but among middle and upper classes. It was no longer a marginal phenomenon. Islamic institutions proliferated across the country. Providing an alternative system of schools, clinics, hospitals and social welfare. Islamic values, codes of conduct and dress became part of mainstream society, informing government, the courts and professions. Once renowned for its multicultural, cosmopolitan and secular character, Egypt had turned towards its Islamic roots. Cairo, famous as 'the city of a thousand minarets', by 2004, boasted more than 5,000 mosques, calling the faithful to prayer (Meredith, 2005, pp.462-463).

By the early 1990s Hosni Mubarak had realized that his timid steps toward democracy had not earned him the legitimacy he sought. Furthermore, a number of events played against the society. Domestically, Islamic radicals were waging a bloody campaign of terror against the security forces, the Coptic minority, secular Muslim intellectuals, and foreign tourists. The Brothers were thus the victims of both their relative moderation, which made them credible partners for dialogue, and of the often blurry lines between radical and moderate Islamism. As a result, they often became the target of harassment, arbitrary arrest, and detention without charges.

From the mid-1990s, their referral to military courts for trial became common (Soage, Franganillo, 2010, p.46).

Compared with the horrors of Algeria, Egypt's Islamist insurgency in the 1990s was more sporadic but it nevertheless made a deep impact. It was initiated in large part by veterans of Jihad in Afghanistan returning home after Soviet withdrawal in 1989, bringing revolutionary fervour and fighting experience to underground groups like Jamaat al-Jihad and Gamaa Islamiyya. Their targets included government officials, intellectuals, journalists and foreign tourists. They attacked and murdered Coptic Christians and burned Christian shops and Churches. They bombed banks and government buildings and theatres, video stores and bookshops that popularized Western culture. Egypt's elderly Nobel laureate, Naguib Mahfouz, who had openly criticized the violent tactics of underground Islamist groups, was knifed (Meredith, 2005, p.461).

In his book "Al-Gamaa" Egyptian writer Wahid Hamid argues that Gamal Abdel Nasser led some kind of "double playing" and was a member of "Muslim Brotherhood". It is worth mentioning that in interview to the English newspaper "The Sunday Times" on 18 June 1962 Gamal Abdel Nasser admitted that he had approached to "Muslim Brotherhood" but was not a member and after some time quit society because understood that he could not stand brotherhood's religious intolerance and its dominance over society (middle-east-online).

In 1992 the Egyptian security forces raided the offices of the Salsabil computer company, arresting its two owners – one of whom was Khayrat al-Shatir, a senior member of the society apparatus – and confiscating a large number of documents. The raids revealed the so-called Enablement Project of the Brothers, a plan to infiltrate government institutions and civil society organizations gradually with a view to a taking over power. They also showed that the Muslim Brothers had re-created the state by setting up sections dealing with all the domains in which they deemed it necessary to have influence: students, professionals, the security services, elections, human rights, and so on. The society claimed that the allegations were untrue, but some leaders of the new guard admitted that the documents seized were authentic. The society had not given up its campaign to be legalized. In January 1995 new raid on the society offices was conducted. Eighty-two Brothers were arrested, including twenty-eight leading members who were attending a meeting of the Shura Council (the society's "parliament"), and where charged with plotting to overthrow the Mubarak regime. On June 1995 Hosni Mubarak publicly accused the society of only pretending to be moderate. Furthermore, in June of that year, there was an assassination attempt on the Egyptian president while he was in Addes Abeba (Ephiopia) for a meeting of the Organization of African Unity. Although the society vigorously condemned the attack, it was accused of links to the Sudanese National Front and the Egyptian Jihad and Jama'at Islamiyya groups, which were blamed for the attack. Thousands of Brothers were detained, and dozens were referred to the military courts (Soage, Franganillo, 2010, p.48).

Salafism in Egypt originated when university students broke away from the Islamic Group, or al-Gamaa al-Ilamiyya, an umbrella network of Islamist factions

that emerged in the 1970s to counter leftists and Nasserists (sometimes with the encouragement of President Anwar Sadat's government). By the mid-1970s, the breakaway factions ranged from radical and violent Islamists to conservative but peaceful groups. The students at Alexandria University created their own movement, the Salafi Call, or al-Daawa al-Salafiyya, in the late 1970s.

The Salafi call was created largely because of political and ideological differences with other Islamists, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood, which sought to dominate the Egyptian Islamist scene in the 1970s. The Call's chief founder was Sheikh Mohammed Ismail al-Moqadim, a surgeon who received his religious education in Saudi Arabia. He was influenced by Saudi Salafi thinkers such as Sheikh Abdel Azioz bin Baz and Sheikh Mohammed Ibn Saleh al-Othaimin, who were religious leaders of Wahhabism, Saudi Arabia's own brand of Salafism. Saudi Arabia was created by the merger of Wahhabi clerics and the al-Saud family.

In Egypt, the movement's epicentre was Alexandria, where Salafism sought to enhance its presence among university students. Unlike the Muslim Brotherhood, the Salafi Call did not have a formal organizational structure. It relied primarily on preaching – known as the call to Islam, or daawa – and student outreach in leaflets, Islamic camps, and lectures in the city's mosques. The major Salafi leaders included Sheikh Yasser Burhami, Sheikh Ahmed Farid, Sayyed Abdel Azim, and Mohamed Abdel Fattah.

In 1986, followers founded the Al-Furqan Institute for Preparing Preachers, a school for religious education. Al-Furqan became the main venue for the Salafi movement. Through the institute, the movement directed Salafi activities across the country through social, youth, and district committees in the 1980s and 1990s. The movement disseminated the Salafi ideology through a growing religious education network, and it published a monthly magazine, al-Daawa. In 1994, as the movement's influence grew, the government closed the institute, dissolved its executive council, and banned its monthly magazine.

It is worth mentioning that classical Salafism has a long tradition of quietism. Many Salafis believe that political participation is heresy that corrupts Muslims and therefore should be avoided. Moreover, many traditional Salafi scholars prohibit rebellion or revolution against the ruler even if he is unjust or corrupt, as long as he is a Muslim.

In more practical terms, the movement also shunned Egyptian politics because the government provided no political space for any Islamists to participate. Despite their quietism, many Salafi leaders were arrested during President Hosni Mubarak's last decade in power. The movement even remained silent when one of its members, Sayyed Bilal, was arrested and tortured to death in January 2011, a month before Mubarak was toppled. When popular protests erupted against Mubarak, Sheikh Burhami's faction criticized the protesters and called on Salafis to abstain from participating.

After the revolution, however, Salafi leaders became heavily involved in politics. The movement spawned new political parties: al-Nour (Light), al-Asala (Authenticity),

and al-Fadila (Virtue). The three parties formed a coalition – the Islamic Alliance – to field candidates in Egypt's election in 2011 – 2012.

The ideology of all three parties is uncompromising. They advocate rigid application of the Sharia (Islamic jurispundence), which they believe entails gender segregation, strict Islamic dress for women, and social restrictions such as outlawing alcohol. Abdel Moneim al Shahat, a controversial senior Nour Party official, outraged Egyptians when he dubbed democracy as "forbidden" (haram) and "blasphemy" (kufr). Another hard-line Salafi leader urged Egyptians not to vote for liberal, or non-Muslim candidates in the elections.

Salafis are socially conservative party to preserve Egypt's Islamic identity in the face of Westernization and secularism. As a result, they argued that a new constitution should emphasize the role of Sharia in public and political life as well as in private belief. During parliament's inaugural session in January 2012, many Salafi members insisted on adding a religious reference to the official oath; they swore to uphold the constitution as long as it did not contradict the Sharia (al-Anani, 2016, p.32).

Since the 2011 uprising, Salafis have sought to inject themselves and their ideas into the center of political debates. They were surprisingly well organized in their first elections despite total political inexperience. They tapped into deeply rooted social networks to encourage support for their candidates. They also built alliances and coalitions with different political forces.

Before the parliamentary elections, the Nour and Asala parties joined the Democratic Alliance, led by the Muslim Brotherhood and including the liberal Wafd Party. But the two Salafi parties withdrew from the alliance on the eve of elections after what they perceived as attempts by the Brotherhood to marginalize Salafi candidates. The two Islamist parties then formed an alliance with the Building and Development Party, the political arm of the Islamic Group (al-Gamaa al-Islamiyya). Many leaders of the Islamic Group, which had advocated violence against the regime, were imprisoned in the 1980s and 1990s. By the end of the 1990s, the Group had formally renounced violence, and many of its members were released. In 2011, the Group fielded candidates for parliament through the Building and Development Party. The Salafis did well in elections for several reasons. Islamist ideologies do resonate with pious Egyptians, but the Salafis had also delivered social services to the needy for several decades. Loose-knit but entrenched networks had built up around these services between the lower class and lower-middle class, which suffered under Mubarak's economic reform. The Salafis achieved sweeping victories in some rural constituencies and on the outskirts of Cairo. The Salafis' hands-on approach was more effective than that of the social networks, based on the twenty-first-century technology used by liberal and secular activists.

The divergence between Salafis and Muslim Brotherhood - on a range of issues, including interpretation of the Sharia, gender relations, and views on democracy – represents only a segment of a wider Islamist political spectrum. The Salafis view the Brotherhood as insufficiently Islamist and too compromising. The Brothers, in turn, view Salafi positions as naïve, overly rigid, insufficiently centrist,

and inappropriate in a modern Egyptian context. The Brothers have shown during sporadic participation in past parliaments that their primary focus is on politics and not on religious or cultural issues.

The Nour Party has demonstrated occasional pragmatism in its political outlook. After the 2011-2012 election, its leaders reached out to liberal forces in parliament to counter the strength of the Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party. Although Salafis favor Islamic rule, the Nour Party's platform called for establishing a "modern state that respects citizenship and coexistence between all people". The party stressed the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers. And it emphasized social justice as well as the people's right to elect their leaders and to hold them accountable.

The Nour Party and other Salafi parties contend that Sharia ensures Christians the right to practice their beliefs, including the right to handle personal status and family affairs according to Christian traditions. But the party has stated that non-Muslims cannot hold the presidence. On the subject of Coptic Christians, who make up 10 percent of Egypt's population, Sheikh Burhami went further. He specifically said, "Copts do not have the right to run for political office in Egypt". The Salafis take a tough position on Sufi Muslims, a tolerant mystical form of Islam. Burhami has accused them of heresy and of being supported by the United States. He has been even tougher on the bahai. Burhami said that he opposes allowing the tiny Egyptian Bahai community to hold religious services in Egypt or to list their religion on national identification cards.

The Brotherhood and its political party claim to support citizenship rights for all Egyptians, regardless of gender or religion. But Copts and liberals are skeptical that the movement believes in equal political rights for religious minorities. The group's 2007 draft manifesto said that Coptic Christians, who make up 10 percent of Egypt's 85 million people, should not be eligible for the presidency. This position was removed from the 2011 party platform.

Speaking in February, 2014 before the congressmen, US Secretary of State John Kerry rejected the proposal to inscribe the "Muslim Brotherhood" in the list of terrorist organizations. Such proposal was voiced by congressman and presidential candidate Ted Cruz, who referred to the fact that Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Russia consider the "Brothers" to be terrorists. The White House assured that it will not tolerate political violence and will continue to work to involve all parties in the peaceful political process.

As a note: by the decision of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation of February 14, 2003, the Muslim Brotherhood was recognized as a terrorist organization and its activities on the territory of the Russian Federation were prohibited. After the overthrow of former president Mohammed Mursi from the late 2013, the organization "Muslim Brotherhood" was declared as terrorist, and in March 2014, Egypt followed Saudi Arabia. In November of the same year, the United Arab Emirates declared the activities of 83 organizations, including the Muslim Brotherhood, illegal in its territory, and Jordan arrested leading and ordinary members of the organization, charging them with terrorism.

Conclusion

It should be stressed that mutual hatred and enmity between secular and Islamist groups in Egypt served as a real cause of conflicts and dramatic events. Despite the escalating accusations of secularism or atheism or terrorism and violence, each of the two sides (the Islamists and the ruling elite) was wrestling over intellectual ground: they are both criticizing the other, claiming to be the legitimate representative of 'true' Islam, and perhaps this has not changed much from this point of view until now. The lack of religious tolerance, and sometimes direct involvement in violent actions, absolutely did not contribute to the growth of authority and the emergence of Islamist organizations in the political arena of Egypt. It is possible that the ban on the activities of a number of Islamist organizations in the world will lead to their political mutation and to the choice of other methods of political struggle.

References

1. al-Anani K. (2016) *Inside the Muslim Brotherhood,* Oxford University Press, Oxford
2. Cleveland W.L. (2004) *A History of the Modern Middle East,* Westview press, Oxford
3. Doran M. (2004) "Egypt" in: Brown L.Carl (ed.), *"Diplomacy in the Middle East", I.B.Tauris,* London
4. Harb O.G. Was Gamal Abdel Nasser a member of Muslim Brothers? available at: http://middle-east-online.com/?id=249938 (accessed 20 August 2017).
5. Khanna P. (2008) *The Second World,* Random House, New-York Meredith M. (2005) *The state of Africa,* Free Press, London
6. Soage A.B., Franganillo J.F. (2010) "The Muslim Brothers in Egypt" in: Rubin B. (ed.), *"The Muslim Brotherhood"*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

RELIGION AND SECESSIONISM IN NORTH-EAST INDIA IN CONTEXT OF PEACE, CONFLICT AND NATION-FORMING[1].

Jacek Skup

The armed insurgencies in North-East India date back to the times of formation of India as an independent state (1947), which makes it one of the longest ongoing military conflicts in the world. During the course of the conflict, numerous groups and factions stemming from different ethnic backgrounds and diverse political positions faced Indian government in a multifaceted conflict fuelled by a variety of problems. Among them were language issues, rights to possess land, pursuit of various degrees of self-determination, policies of state and central authorities, immigration issues, ethnic conflicts, attempts at economical revolutions and religion. The aim of this paper is to give an overview of the last factor mentioned above, with focus on the current phase of the conflict. How can religion contribute to violence motivated by political ideologies and socio-economic situation, especially in the context of the process of formation of national communities? What is the role of religion in an asymmetric conflict between the representatives of religious groups and the state, (which although officially is a secular one, is still greatly influenced by religion) and divisions stemming from their variety, which can be observed on legal, social and political level? Can religion serve as a factor in the peace process, or does it only fan the flames? In order to answer those questions, an analysis of various examples concerning the role of religion in this particular conflict will be presented.

Any analysis demands presenting an outline of the causes of the conflict, which in case of the "seven sister states" (Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Meghalaya, Manipur, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura) comprise the Northeast of Indian territories. The region has been plagued by many problems since before India's independence. These include (but are not limited to) conflicts between ethnic groups (only in Assam there are populations who speak 45 different languages), region's underdevelopment, which leads to tensions between regional population and the Indian authorities who are accused of draining region's resources and giving little in terms of development projects and investments. The central authorities are also accused of neglecting the region for decades. This situation is linked to the problem of parliamentary representation (based on region's population which is relatively small in Indian context). Yet another reason is the policy regarding internal security. After the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act of 1958, Indian military was granted a vast degree of powers like performing arrests and searches without warrant. Army officers were also granted legal immunity for their actions. This often led to accusations concerning violations of human rights. Another factor of the conflict is the international conditions. The region's borders are long and often insecure given the remoteness of the borderland territories. This enables militant groups to easily take advantage of

[1] The following article is a part of the author's research project "Religion and separatism in contemporary South Asia" funded by Jagiellonian University's Faculty of Philosophy.

that fact and make international cooperation one of the key factors in successful military operations by Indian armed forces.

According to Giovanni Capoccia, Lawrence Sáez and Eline de Rooij, secessionist movements active in India, characterized by having religious worldview, provide a greater challenge to the state:

> [R]eligious political parties and non-party groups, if they are regionally concentrated and if they harbour territorial grievances, will frame such grievances in the religious language that characterizes their public identity. This has important consequences for their resilience in the face of state responses: an important literature maintains that political grievances framed in religious terms tend to be less tractable than similar grievances framed in different terms. Thus, religious political actors advancing territorial grievances will not be easily appeased by partial concessions, and even if the central government uses repression to disband them, new organizations are likely to emerge and put forward the same territorial grievances in the name of the same doctrinal principles.[1]

Similarly, Jonathan Fox argues that "among religious minorities, rebellion is extremely rare in the absence of a desire for self-determination. Religion, when combined with self-determination, can significantly increase the level of violence, but religion without self-determination has little impact on rebellion.[2]"

Selected examples concerning the role of religion in the activities and ideologies of separatist groups of Northeast India, as well as the influence of religion on peace processes will be presented below. The examples will be divided on the basis of religious tradition manifesting its influence on the discussed movements.

Religion and Militant Secessionism

Islam

An example of Islamist in the northeast of India is the Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam (MULTA). The group, founded in 1996, is one of approximately 14 Islamist militant groups operating in Assam. MULTA appeals to religious sentiments of the Muslim population declaring *jihad* – holy war in defence of Muslims – against Indian authorities, and pursuing the goal of creating "greater independent Islamistan" – a separate state entity for the local Muslim population[3]. MULTA attempts to emulate the model adapted by their ideological counterparts in Jammu and Kashmir[4], who have managed to overshadow (in terms of popular

[1] Giovanni Capoccia, Lawrence Sáez, Eline de Rooij, "When State Responses Fail: Religion and Secessionism in India 1952—2002", The Journal of Politics 74 (04) October 2012, p. 1011.

[2] Jonathan Fox, Religion, Civilization, and Civil War: 1945 Through the New Millennium, (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2004), 233.

[3] Ved Prakash, Terrorism in India's North-East: A Gathering Storm, (Delhi: Kalpaz, 2008), 494.

[4] "Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam (MULTA)", South Asia Terrorism Portal, http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/assam/terrorist_outfits/MULTA.htm.

support) the earlier separatist political parties and militant groups – which appealed to secular Kashmiri nationalism. Adapting Islamism and referring to religious sentiment proved to be beneficial to Kashmiri separatists. Therefore, MULTA and other groups active in the Northeast are striving for a similar effect. The ideological stance adapted by the group does not however rule out an extent of cooperation with outfits stemming from different ideological background – MULTA has received support from National Socialist Council of Nagland - Isak Muivah (NSCN-IM)[5] and National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NFDB).[6]

Christianity

Among the secessionist groups active in the "Seven Sister States", are those which – given the religious composition of the peoples they originate from – appeal to Christianity. It can be seen most explicitly in case of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN). Currently, the faction led by S. S. Khaplang, formed in 1988, is considered a proscribed terrorist group[7]. The Unification (NSCN-U) faction active from 2007 is considered to be inactive, and other factions - Khole-Kitovi, Reformation and Isak-Muivah (NSCN-KK, NSCR-R, NSCN-IM) -have signed ceasefires with the government. The most recent was the agreement with NSCN-IM signed in April 2017[8].

The movement was founded in 1980 among the Naga ethnic group, which during the XIX century saw an intensive activity from Christian (mostly Baptist) missionaries. Presently around 90% of the Naga identify as Christians.[9] The original manifesto of NSCN states that "to us the sovereign existence of our country, the salvation of our people in socialism with their spiritual salvation in Christ are eternal and unquestionable." [10] Furthermore, "[t]he group combines ideas of national sovereignty, principles of socialism and the rule of the people with "faith in God and the salvation of mankind in Jesus the Christ, alone, that is 'Nagaland for Christ.[11]" Factions of NSCN have also been actively proselytizing the tribal population thus merging propagation of religious ideas with national struggle[12]. According to A.S. Shimray, only by 1985, the group managed to convert over 40 thousand people on

[5] Prakash, Terrorism in India's North-East, 494

[6] South Asia Terrorism Portal, "Muslim United Liberation Tigersof Assam (MULTA)".

[7] List of Banned Terrorist Organisations Under Section 35 of Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967 (As on 26-04-2017), Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs, http://www.mha.nic.in/BO.

[8] Namrata Biji Ahuja, "Peace accord is only with NSCN(IM), not Nagas" The Week, April 23 2017 http://www.theweek.in/theweek/cover/interview-alezo-venuh.html.

[9] Richard Eaton, "Comparative History as World History: Religious Conversions in Modern India, Journal of World History, 8/2, 1997, 245.

[10] „Manifesto of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland", South Asia Terrorism Portal http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/documents/papers/manifesto_national_socialist_council_nagaland.htm.

[11] South Asia Terrorism Portal, „Manifesto of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland".

[12] Sajal Nag, Contesting marginality: Ethnicity, Insurgency and Subnationalism in North-East India, (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2002), 284.

territories under its control[13]. In the words of J. Thomas "The strict moral discipline that NSCN enforced among its functionaries; the priority it gave to evangelization and other outreach programmes; and the establishment of a new church council that would defend the nation and therein, defend Christianity as well, contributed towards confirming the Christian credentials of the NSCN. In fact, by reconciling the nationalist struggle with the defense of Christianity, NSCN had turned the tables on the existing church leadership and their failure to defend Christianity.[14]" This shows the crucial role of the religious component in the formation of nationalism as a political ideology shaping the nation, which in turn starts to pursuit the aspirations for self-determination in form of secessionism backed by political violence. The use of Christian rhetorics by the group's factions is seen by some authors as a means of mobilization of the supporters, who hail from the Christian community, towards the fight for NSCN's goals which are ideologically grounded in Maoism and Marxism-Leninism[15].

Another example of using Christianity in separatist struggle is the National Liberation Front of Tripura (NLFT), active since 1989 in Tripura state. The group shows a strong stance in favour of Christianity – it encourages the conversion of non-Christian recruits (allegedly also performs forced conversion), banning Hindu worship on the territories under its control and attacking tribal religious leaders, and Hindu Nationalists[16]. Despite that and the claims to create a religious based state[17], the groups manifesto states, that membership is open to "Any person irrespective of caste, sex or creed who is dedicated to what is best in the traditional culture and belief of the Country[18]". The text of oath for the new members, however, contains the phrase "I do swear in the name of God".[19] In the context of the group's activities and ideology, Christianity "is a source of new extra-territorial identity that reinforces the ethnic group's function to challenge the dominant cultures of the Bengali migrants rather than being absorbed by it.[20]"

Another example worth mentioning in the context of Christianity and separatism in Northeast India is the National Democratic Front of Bodoland composed largely of Baptist Christians. The group, founded in 1984 as Bodo Security Force (present name was adopted in 1994), is not the only secessionist groups representing the Bodos. Its aims, however, are more radical when compared to other

[13] A.S. Atai Shimray, Let Freedom Ring: Story of Naga Nationalism, (New Delhi: Promilla & Co. Publishers, 2005), 159-160.

[14] John Thomas, Evangelising the Nation: Religion and the Formation of Naga Political Identity, (New Delhi, London, New York: Routledge, 2016), 174-175.

[15] Subir Bhaumik, "Ethnicity, Ideology and Religion: Separatist Movements in India's Northeast", in Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia, ed. Satu Limaye, Robert Wirsing and Mohan Malik, (Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2004), 235.

[16] Bhaumik, "Ethnicity, Ideology and Religion", 236.

[17] Subir Bhaumik, "Church backing Tripura rebels", BBC News, April 18. 2000. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/717775.stm.

[18] "Constitution of The National Liberation Front of Tripura", South Asia Terrorism Portal, http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/tripura/documents/papers/nlft_const.htm.

[19] Ibidem.

[20] Subir Bhaumik, Troubled Periphery: The Crisis of India's North East, (Delhi: SAGE Publications India, 2009), 49.

political and militant forces (respectively all Bodo Students Union and Bodo Liberation Tigers). The NDFD is not limited in the demands for autonomy within Assam or creating a separate state within the Union of India, but it also pursuits the creation of an independent Bodo state. The group's vision of national identity is closely tied to Baptist Christianity and the use of Latin script as the writing system for Bodo language. This has led to an intra-ethnic conflict with other groups, which will be covered in the next sub-chapter.

Hinduism and Tribal Religions

As mentioned before, a conflict exists within the Bodo secessionist movement. It is not limited to differences in political goals, but takes its beginnings from a radically different vision of nationalism. Main militant rivals of the NDFB – Bodo Liberation Tiger Force (active between 1996 and 2003) – had supported the use of Devanagari script for the Bodo language and connected national identity to Bathouism (traditional Bodo religion) and stressing its difference from Hinduism. This rivalry considerably weakened the Bodo movement, which plunged into infighting.

Another example of indigenous religions as a factor in the secessionists' fight for their cause is The United National Liberation Front (UNLF) of Mizoram, founded in 1964. It was contemporary to the cultural revival movement among Meitei people, who promoted Sanamahism – the traditional beliefs of the Meitei[21]. This was also connected with supporting the use of Sanamahi script (as opposed to Bengali) in an attempt of strengthening the cultural identity of the people[22].

Religion and Peace Process

Although religion is one of the reasons for the ongoing conflict, it also had an impact on the development of peace process in troubled states. An example of it is the Joint Peace Mission Team (JPMT) whose origins lie in the Inter-Church Peace Mission team founded in 1996. The group brought together the local leaders of Catholic, Baptist, Lutheran and independent churches as well as faith-based charity organizations. The reasons for the formation of the group were numerous acts of violence between Bodo and Santhal peoples in Assam[23]. JPMT aims at reducing violence and developing understanding between local ethnic communities via promoting reconciliation and better understanding of cultures, helping the tribal groups to protect and develop their land and resources, supporting civil society organizations in the fight against corruption and violations of human rights and

[21] Nag, Contesting Marginality 208, Bertil Linter., Great Game East: India, China, and the Struggle for Asia's Most Volatile Frontier, (Yale: Yale University Press, 2015), 142.
[22] Bhaumik, "Ethnicity, Ideology and Religion", 237.
[23] Deben Sharma, "India: Ecumenism in a Violent Conflict: The Joint Pace Mission Team", in Pursuing Just Peace: An Overview and Case Studies for Faith-Based Peacebuilders, ed. Mark M. Rogers, Tom Bamat, Julie Ideh, (Baltimore: Catholic Relief Services, 2008) 106-107.

promotion of peace and cooperation[24]. Through cooperation with local authorities and representatives of the communities, JPMT managed to contribute to de-escalation of ethnic conflict in Manipur (1997) and Assam (2004) and influenced the peace accords between Kuku and Paite (Zomi) tribes in 1998[25]. It also supported other similar initiatives like Church Leaders of North East India (CLNEI), North Eastern peace Team (NEPT) and Guwahati Peace Team (GPT)[26].

The other example that should not be omitted is the activities of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (National Patriotic Organization[27], RSS) – the political organization often accused of promoting radical Hindu fundamentalism[28], but being a political and social rather than religious organization. The movement, founded on the basis of the *hindutva* (lit. "hinduness" ideology), has in recent years increased its activity in the troubled Northeast. The *swayamsevaks* (volunteers) perform organizational work for the benefit of local communities engaging in giving access to education and healthcare and the fight against corruption. In the multi-religious states (often dominated by Christian population) the RSS presents itself as an inclusive group working for the benefit of all Indians regardless of the religion they follow. Among the tribal communities with indigenous religions the RSS stresses the need for survival of local religious and cultural tradition and promoting diversity[29]. This goes in line with the political program of the current government headed by Narendra Modi and his idea of "new India", devoid of communalism and casteism[30]. It can be seen as an attempt to bridge the gap between two models of nationalism – Indian and Hindu. The first one, based on the state, - was promoted by the Jawaharlal Nehru – the leader of the Congress Party and prime minister (1947-1964).[31] The latter – stressing the ethnic basis of a nation,[32] was supported by the *hindutva* influenced movements. A potential reconciliation of this to models with recognition of all religious communities as parts of an Indian nation and introduction of a unified civil law can be a factor leading to the decline of political violence in the North-East and weakening of the secessionist tendencies. The fact that numerous armed factions made peace with the government during Modi's time as the prime minister can be interpreted as a claim for the success of his policies. It should be

[24] Sharma, India 107.
[25] Sharma, India, 109.
[26] Sharma, India, 111.
[27] James M. Lutz, Brenda J. Lutz, Global Terrorism, (Milton Park, Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2008) 303.
[28] Sunny Hundal, Hindu nationalists are gaining power in India – and silencing enemies along the way, "The Independent", February 26.2014, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/hindu-nationalists-are-gaining-power-in-india-and-silencing-enemies-along-the-way-9155591.html
[29] Simantik Dowerah, Rise of Hindutva in North East: Christians in Nagaland, Mizoram may weaken BJP despite RSS' gains in Tripura, Meghalaya, Firstpost, April 21. 2017, http://www.firstpost.com/politics/rise-of-hindutva-in-north-east-rss-bjp-face-challenge-in-nagaland-and-mizoram-better-off-in-meghalaya-tripura-3369560.html.
[30] "PM's address to the Nation from the ramparts of the Red Fort on the 71th Independence Day ", PMIndia, http://www.pmindia.gov.in/en/news_updates/pms-address-to-the-nation-from-the-ramparts-of-the-red-fort-on-the-71th-independence-day/?comment=disable.
[31] Mark Juergensmyer, The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), 13.
[32] Christophe Jaffrelot, The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s : Strategies of Identity-building, Implantation and Mobilisation (with Special Reference to Central India), (London: C.Hurst &Co., 1996), 50.

noted however, that the government is criticized for changing the lines along which tensions between communities form via the policies regarding Muslim immigrants from neighbouring Bangladesh (while simultaneously supporting the idea of granting full rights to the Hindu immigrants)[33].

Conclusion

Examples presented above show that, as observed by Capoccia, Sáez and de Rooij, the addition of religious dimension to the separatist cause strengthens the resolution of secessionist groups and makes them harder to subjugate. This prolongs the conflict.

Question remains, though: How does religion influence the persistence of ethnic separatism and, in a broader perspective, political violence?

Mark Juergensmeyer, based on the studies of relations between religion and political violence in South Asia and the Middle East, explains it via the notions of "Religious nationalism" – tendency of the people to "fuse their religious perspective with a broad prescription for their nation's political and social destiny"[34]. Representatives of religious nationalism "reject secular ideas, but not secular politics, focus more on ideology than political structures and tend to reject the separation of religion and politics as a peculiarly Western idea.[35]"

Another explanation was proposed by J. Fox, who states that while religious factor can contribute to an ethnic rebellion (including secessionism) but "(...) the key to understanding the relationship between religious grievances and rebellion is that religious grievances are usually not in and of themselves enough to provoke rebellion. The predisposition toward rebellion must already be in place.[36]" However, the addition of religious dimension to the ethnic, economic or any other conflict, increases the likelihood of an outburst of violence Similarly, Almond, Sivan, and Appleby note that, if the political demands are framed in the language of religious fundamentalism, they become less negotiable than they would be otherwise[37].

Examples cited in the text prove that religion can influence secessionist political violence, as it is often a key element of creating national identities and forming a political programs built upon them. At the same time, religion can effectively influence the process of reconciliation easing the tensions between different ethnic and religious groups. In the context of developing nationalisms,

---

[33] Krishna N. Das, Modi's BJP vows to strip Muslim immigrants of vote in Assam, Reuters, March 11. 2016., http://www.reuters.com/article/india-politics/modis-bjp-vows-to-strip-muslim-immigrants-of-vote-in-assam-idUSKCN0WC2WR.

[34] Juergensmeyer, The New Cold War?, 6.

[35] Ted Robert Gurr, Anne Pitsch, "Ethnopolitcal conflict and separatist violence", in International Handbook of Violence Research vol. I, ed. Wilhelm Heitmeyer, John Hagan, (Dordrecht: Springer Science+Business Media, 2003), 326.

[36] Jonathan Fox, "The Effects of Religious Discrimination on Ethno-Religious Protest and Rebellion", The Journal of Conflict Studies Vol. 20, No 2 (2000), https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/4310/4922.

[37] Gabriel A. Almond, Emmanuel Sivan, R. Scott Appleby, "Explaining Fundamentalisms", in Fundamentalisms Comprehended, ed. Martin E. Marty, R. Scott Appleby, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004) 419.

downplaying the religious aspect, emphasizing common values and interests, and striving for diversity within the framework of one nation, seem to be the most effective approach to solving conflicts.

References

1. Ahuja Namrata Biji, "Peace accord is only with NSCN(IM), not Nagas" *The Week*, April 23, 2017. http://www.theweek.in/theweek/cover/interview-alezo-venuh.html.
2. Almond Gabriel A., Sivan Emmanuel, Appleby R.Scott, "Explaining Fundamentalisms", in *Fundamentalisms Comprehended*, edited by Martin E. Marty, R. Scott Appleby, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
3. Bhaumik Subir, "Ethnicity, Ideology and Religion: Separatist Movements in India's Northeast", in *Religious Radicalism and Security in South Asia*, edited by Satu Limaye, Robert Wirsing and Mohan Malik, 219-244, Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2004.
4. Bhaumik Subir, *Troubled Periphery: The Crisis of India's North East*, Delhi: SAGE Publications India, 2009.
5. Bhaumik Subir., "Church backing Tripura rebels", BBC News, April 18. 2000. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/717775.stm.
6. Capoccia Giovanni, Sáez Lawrence, de Rooij Eline., "When State Responses Fail: Religion and Secessionism in India 1952—2002", *The Journal of Politics* 74 (04) October 2012, p. 1010-1022.
7. Das Krishna N., *Modi's BJP vows to strip Muslim immigrants of vote in Assam*, Reuters, March 11. 2016., http://www.reuters.com/article/india-politics/modis-bjp-vows-to-strip-muslim-immigrants-of-vote-in-assam-idUSKCN0WC2WR.
8. Dowerah Simantik, *Rise of Hindutva in North East: Christians in Nagaland, Mizoram may weaken BJP despite RSS' gains in Tripura, Meghalaya*, Firstpost, April 21. 2017, http://www.firstpost.com/politics/rise-of-hindutva-in-north-east-rss-bjp-face-challenge-in-nagaland-and-mizoram-better-off-in-meghalaya-tripura-3369560.html.
9. Eaton Richard,"Comparative History as World History: Religious Conversions in Modern India, *Journal of World History*, 8/2, 1997, 243-271.
10. Fox Jonathan, "The Effects of Religious Discrimination on Ethno-Religious Protest and Rebellion*", The Journal of Conflict Studies* Vol. 20, No 2 (2000), https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/jcs/article/view/4310/4922.
11. Fox Jonathan, *Religion, Civilization, and Civil War: 1945 Through the New Millennium*. Oxford: Lexington Books, 2004.
12. Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs, "List of Banned Terrorist Organisations Under Section 35 of Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967 (As on 26-04-2017)", Accessed September 11. 2017. http://www.mha.nic.in/BO,
13. Gurr Ted Robert, Pitsch Anne, "Ethnopolitcal conflict and separatist violence", in *International Handbook of Violence Research vol. I,* ed. Wilhelm Heitmeyer, John Hagan, Dordrecht: Springer Science+Business Media, 2003.

14. Hundal Sunny, *Hindu nationalists are gaining power in India – and silencing enemies along the way*, "The Independent", February 26.2014, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/hindu-nationalists-are-gaining-power-in-india-and-silencing-enemies-along-the-way-9155591.html
15. Jaffrelot Christophe, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics: 1925 to the 1990s: Strategies of Identity-building, Implantation and Mobilisation (with Special Reference to Central India)*, London: C.Hurst &Co., 1996.
16. Juergensmyer Mark, *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State,* Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993.
17. Linter Bertil, *Great Game East: India, China, and the Struggle for Asia's Most Volatile Frontier,* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2015.
18. Lutz James M., Lutz Brenda J, *Global Terrorism*, Milton Park, Abingdon: Taylor & Francis, 2008.
19. Nag Sajal, *Contesting marginality: Ethnicity, Insurgency and Subnationalism in North-East India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2002.
20. PMIndia, "PM's address to the Nation from the ramparts of the Red Fort on the 71th Independence Day". Accessed September 11 2017. http://www.pmindia.gov.in/en/news_updates/pms-address-to-the-nation-from-the-ramparts-of-the-red-fort-on-the-71th-independence-day/?comment=disable.
21. Prakash Ved, *Terrorism in India's North-East: A Gathering Storm*. Delhi: Kalpaz, 2008.
22. Sharma Deben, "India: Ecumenism in a Violent Conflict: The Joint Pace Mission Team", in *Pursuing Just Peace: An Overview and Case Studies for Faith-Based Peacebuilders*, edited by Mark M. Rogers, Tom Bamat, Julie Ideh ,101-116, Baltimore: Catholic Relief Services, 2008.
23. Shimray A.S.Atai, *Let Freedom Ring: Story of Naga Nationalism*, New Delhi: Promilla & Co. Publishers, 2005.
24. South Asia Terrorism Portal. "Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam (MULTA)", Accessed September 11. 2017. http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/assam/terrorist_outfits/MULTA.htm.
25. South Asia Terrorism Portal. „Manifesto of the National Socialist Council of Nagaland", Accessed September 11. 2017. http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/nagaland/documents/papers/manifesto_national_socialist_council_nagaland.htm.
26. South Asia Terrorism Portal."Constitution of The National Liberation Front of Tripura", Accessed September 11. 2017. http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/india/states/tripura/documents/papers/nlft_const.htm.
27. Thomas John, *Evangelising the Nation: Religion and the Formation of Naga Political Identity*, New Delhi, London, New York: Routledge, 2016.

POST-MODERN ETHICS IN RELIGION: THE CONFLICT OF ETHICS IN INDIAN RELIGION

Trishna P. Lekharu

E. R. Tongper

The term "Postmodernism' first entered the philosophical lexicon in 1979, with the publication of the 'Postmodern Condition' by Jean-Francois Lyotard. [1] Postmodernism is a method of philosophical thought and it is likely to stay infrangible. In fact, postmodernism is a perspective through which a new trend or a new aspect of society has emerged within the terrain of philosophy. If we understand the genesis of postmodernism and the path it follows, then we will begin to see its expression in every area of our culture.[2] It is a moment born out in a response to modernism. [3] Postmodernism casts a doubt on the unity of the self [4] . The postmodernist thinker simply does not see the spiralling evolution of the consciousness suggested by the high point of Idealism. [5] This infects the overwhelming awareness of the death-a death that 'begins' with the death of God and 'ends' with the death of ourselves.[6] We are in a time when we question our identity and existence from the perspective of existentialism. As soon as we are born we are given a name, a religion, a nationality and a race and in due course of time, we try to find our own existence. With the passage of time, people in the modern world are converging towards the postmodern ethics.[7] According to postmodern philosophy, our society is constantly changing, so there cannot be any absolute truth or absolute reality. [8] We can very often relate the understanding of postmodernism to the disparity of Indian religion. J. P. Moreland and William Lane Craig have very short, but accurate description of postmodern ethics. "Postmodernists reject the idea that there are universal, trans-cultural standards, such as the laws of logic or principles of inductive inference, for determining whether a belief is true or false, rational or irrational, good or bad."[9] Thus, when referring to a postmodern ethical system, the first point to think of is a system that agues that there is no unified approach to

[1] Lyotard, Jean-Francois, Postmodern Condition, 1979,

[2]Fredric Jameson, The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern, (1983-1988), 93- 97

[3] Lawrence E. Cahoone, From Modern to Postmodern: An Anthology Expanded (Blackwell Philosophy Anthologies), paperback, 2003

[44] Anthony Thiselton, Interpreting God and the Postmodern Self: On Meaning, Manipulation and Promise (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1995), 130.

[5]Doulas R McGaughey, Critical Idealism and Postmodernism, 2017

[6]Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil, 260

[7] Bernasconi, Robert and Simon Critchley, eds. Re-Reading Levinas. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1991.

[8] Rorty, Richard, "Introduction," Objectivity, Relativism, and Truth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 13.

[9] J.P. Moreland and William Lane Craig, Philosophical Foundations for a Christian Worldview (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2003), 146.

understanding what is and is not ethical.[1] Friedrich Nietzsche, who promoted the word "postmodernism", agues in his book 'Beyond Good and Evil' that most people attempted to rationalize their ethical codes so as to avoid facing the fact that such ethical codes are merely based upon the people's taste and preference. And this is what the whole act of religion in India is facing now.[2]

Religion is not just an individual practice, but it is something related to the individual identity.[3] The history of religion goes back to 5200 years ago (3200 BCE) with the invention of writing, but the origin of religion still cannot be tracked back.[4] Religion has always kept the human beings organized in a society. It was a way to attain peace of mind and find salvation or liberation and to worship the creator. In the present world, it is not just related to an individual's spiritual growth, but it is also the phenomenological growth of the society as a whole.

Postmodernism claims that in a world, which is saturated by social media, whether it is at home or at work, the distinction between the reality and the media representation becomes blurred.[5] We no longer hold the idea of the reality and their images. Here we have to be more ethically responsible for the society we grew up in. Postmodernism has overgrown modernity as the ideology conflicted, and ethics was taken more into account in the postmodern era.[6] We can observe that the authenticity of religion has vanished and a new rule has been put into practice and it has changed its terminology in time. When it comes to postmodern theology, the idea that religious beliefs are private preferences has filtered down from the academy to the "unenlightened" commoners, many of whom now embrace pluralism.

Religious pluralism is the belief that one should be tolerant of all religious beliefs because no religion can be true.[7] Postmodernism is not in favour of religion authenticity, as certain practice was against the domain of morality which is again the court of ethics.

India is so rich in its religious culture that even in Hinduism we can observe the variety of practices. The mixed culture has given rise to new beliefs and ideas, a situation that leads to the conflict among the same religion. Conversions from one religion to another have taken place radically in India, but we can still trace back the practices of its original faith, which creates conflict among them. Different religions like Hinduism and Islam have their own ideologies, which create chaos in the society. For Hinduism, a cow is a sacred animal. On the other hand, for Islam, it is not. Consumption of beef was a question of faith for the Hindus. Each religion has its own birth, mirage, death rituals which can sometimes be in complete opposition to the

[1] Critchley, Simon. "Taking an Ethical Turn." Times Literary Supplement. October 17, 1997: 14-15

[2] Beyond Good and Evil, Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, 1886

[3] King, P. E. (2003). Religion and Identity: The Role of Ideological, Social and Spiritual contexts, Applied Development Science, 7:3, 197-204.

[4] Cultural History of India. New Age International Limited Publications. 2005. p. 3. ISBN 81-224-1587-3.

[5] Pauline Rosenau, Post Modernism and Social Science (1992)

[6] King, P. E. (2003). Religion and Identity: the Role of Ideological, Social and Spiritual contexts, Applied Development Science

[7] D.A. Carson, "Christian Witness in an Age of Pluralism," in D.A. Carson and John Woodbridge, eds., God and Culture: Essays in Honor of Carl F.H. Henry (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993).

other. The variety of religions in India has led to the understanding that there are many ways to view "the divine".

What is the Relation of Ethics to Religion?

Though we use the term "ethics" in the modern context very often, the term "morality", which can be taken as the alternative for ethics, was used in almost every religion in the world. In Sanskrit, the word "Dharma" means the moral order of the universe.[8] Religion precedes ethics and ethics precede religion. So, we can say that both are intertwined. If we observe, we can see a difference between ethics and religion, in which one is the system of human duties beginning from man, the other from God. Religion includes the personality of God but we don't see that in Ethics.[9] Ethics works without religion, but religion needs to have morality in it, without which it is a dead religion.[10] Religion is the transcendental view of an individual of his relationship with an infinite power. This relationship leads people to abstain from indulgence in any undesirable act. Morality, with no sure transcendent references, views man in relation to his fellows.[11] Through the process of educational changes in terms of the intellectual bases of emotions, one can be seen taking its place in the society.

As religion cannot be just merged into ethics, ethics must not be lost in religion, either. [12] As historical evidence speaks, both of them have existed independently of each other and do so in the present time. However, the normal and legitimated relation of ethics and religion is that of interaction. During its development, religion has taken on ethical elements.[13] The concept of deity, which any religion offers, represents the ethical standards of its adherents. As the common link is the growth of human beings, these two have to come to a common point to sober down and come to its own settlement. Ethics and religion need to coexist in order to survive in the world of postmodernism.[14]

Understanding Indian Religion in Postmodern World

[8] Justice M. RAMA JOIS, DHARMA The Global Ethic

[9] C. Stephen Evan, God and Moral Obligation, Oxford: Oxford University Press,2013

[10] Hare, J., 2006, Go, and Morality, A Philosophical History, Oxford: Blackwell.

[11] Paley, W., 1830, The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, Cambridge: Hillard and Brown.

[12] Walter Goodnow Everett, The Relation of Ethics to Religion, International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Jul., 1900), pp. 479-493

[13] Walter Goodnow Everett, The Relation of Ethics to Religion, International Journal of Ethics, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Jul., 1900), pp. 479-493

[14] Ernest Gellner, Postmodernism, Reason and Religion (London: Routledge, 1992).

When a person is born in India, his/her ideology and philosophy of life is surrounded by religious beliefs. Religion has been a crucial part of Indian culture, as it is the phenomenology of one's existence. India is not only multicultural but also multi-religious.[15] It is not only the birthplace of some major religions of the world like Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Jainism, but also home to other religions like Islam and Christianity. We can also observe practices like Animism and tribal religion in some parts of the country.[16] Hinduism, whose origin goes back to 1500 BC, is considered to be one of the oldest religions in the world India has the greatest number of the followers of Hinduism.[17] Initially, Hinduism was the prevalent religion and later Buddhism also came into existence. Hinduism and Buddhism were taken not as a religion, but as a path to lead a fruitful life. These two religions have taught tolerance to a large extent and so we can also see other religions blooming under Hinduism and Buddhism.[18] A man believes that his religion is the true religion, but by studying about different religions, we can find that each one of them has its own part to play. We should let this part to be played by various religions to have a harmony. There are numerous races and each individual has his/her own identity of spiritual growth.

B.R. Ambedkar truly said, "Religion must be mainly a matter of principles only. It cannot be a matter of rules. The moment it degenerates rules, it ceases to be a religion, as it kills responsibility which is the essence of true religion act." [19]

Religion in India is very strongly rooted in individuals, as it is not just related to the faith of a person, but also to one's identity, culture, personality and its generations to come. Indian people worship everything including humans, plants, animals and even non-living things (excluding the idea of idols worshipping here). Indians believe that God exists everywhere, but ways and practices may differ.

In a famous statement, Rabindranath Tagore said, '*Oneness among men, the advantage of unity in diversity- this been the core religion of India*'.[20] Unity in diversity has been taken to be the prime note for the growth of civilization.[21] It is the art of thinking independently together. It is an understandable fact that if we don't respect other religion we don't get a mutual respect. The peace of a country is shown when union provided in a multi-religious country. Each religion teaches people unity and peace, so it is imperative to hold on to ethics for the growth of humanity.

Religion cannot be postmodern, but its practices can be taken to be modern or postmodern. Certain practices, which prevailed in the past, may not be considered to be moral or ethical under the present global circumstances. The "sati pratha", which was formerly widespread, is not considered as a religious practice.[22] There are many new religions in the world considered to be modern or postmodern like worshipping

[15] Asha Mukherjee, Religion as a Separate Area of Study in India, Issues in Religion and Education, pp 83-103
[16] N.K.Bose, "Tribal Life of India", National, Book Trust, India, India, New Delhi, 1973
[17] O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger, Hindu Myths. Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1975
[18] Jayaram V, Hinduism and Religious Tolerance.
[19] Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Annihilation of Caste, Volume 1, 1936, 23-27

[20] Rabindranath Tagore, Creative Unity, London : Macmillan, 1922
[21] T. K. Suman Kumar, India: Unity in Diversity,1992
[22] The Representation of Sati: Four Eighteenth-Century Etchings by Baltazard Solvyns by Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr.

science or aliens.[23] The faith system of any religion in India is deeply rooted to its origins. Modifications came to every religion in the course of time, but we cannot judge it in relation to postmodernism except Christianity, as it is not a very old religion in India.[24] However, we can say that despite the immense diversity of religions and cultures, there is still peace to a large extent. The standpoint of ethics in Indian religion is that a person and his/her religion should not be judged by the social standards based on social ethics.[25] In India, relating ethical issues to religious beliefs creates sentimental hindrance among the common masses. It is not because of the relationship of the individual to God but because the individuality of the person is caught in the sustainability of ethics in the postmodern world and the journey the individual took from birth. Religion holds the individual spiritually awake, whereas ethics is connected emotionally, which makes it difficult for postmodernists.[26] Nevertheless, it can be taken into account when postmodern ethics can come in the form of accepting postmodern religion.

Application of ethics to religion will contribute to the enhancement of religious growth, which is vital in a wide variety of beliefs.[27] The transaction from modern to postmodern is still overwhelming for Indian religion. It is in the slow process of taking for granted the fact that postmodern religion is gradually coming up, but without its authenticity, it loses its meaning as a whole. Ethics has secured its place in religion, which went missing when the controlling conflict was going on among people.[28] This changes the view about religion to a large extent.

What is Postmodern Religion of Modern India?

According to postmodern religion, there cannot be just one way to find absolute truth and it is a constant change that happens in the society.[29] According to postmodern religion, there is no universal religion, but religion has absolute law or truth.[30] Talking about postmodern religion in India is critical, as the perspective may differ from place to place and religion to religion. Although the general view of the masses towards religion has changed drastically over time, certain practices, like the caste system, are still prevalent in the societies. The thought process of Indians is modern at present. However, the common mass is still engulfed within the older religious beliefs and cultures.

---

[23] Sammons, Martha C. (1988). "A Better Country": The Worlds of Religious Fantasy and Science Fiction. Greenwood Press. p. 21. ISBN 0-313-25746-9.

[24] Stephen Neill, A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707 (2004).

[25] Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar: Writings and Speeches, Vol 5, Mumbai: Government of Maharashtra, 1989.

[26] Zygmunt Bauman, Postmodern Ethics, Paperback, 1993

[27] Jesse N.K. Mugambi and David W. Lutz, Applied ethics in religion and culture: contextual and global challenges, Nairobi, Kenya: Action Publishers, 2012

[28] B. Chandel (2014), The Immanent and the Transcendent in Indian Ethics, Ethics or Moral Philosophy, Contemporary Philosophy: A New Survey, Volume 11, ISBN 978-94-007-6894-9,

[29]. Ira Chernus, FREDRIC JAMESON'S INTERPRETATION OF POSTMODERNISM,

[30]. "Postmodernism". Encyclopedia of Science and Religion. Ed. Ray Abruzzi and Michael J. McGandy. Macmillan-Thomson Gale, 2003. eNotes.com. 2006. 27 Dec 2010

The modern India appears to be more open towards ethical practices than religious practices. Spirituality continues in all parts of the country throughout the year in the form of festivals. With the advent and proliferation of modernism, people are more open towards the appreciation of other religions.

Human beings have the tendency to learn and practice what our elders practiced and questioning those practices are forbidden. Once we gain the consciousness of knowing the fact that it is ethically wrong we need to take a step.[31] It is not easy to break a tradition that has been going on for generation but understanding and questioning whether it is morally correct or incorrect is necessary. We blame the society, but we are part of the society so we need to change our ethical thinking to bring the change in the society. Education helps us to attain that responsibility to know what is ethically right. In a postmodern world where science and technology are ruling over us, a process of ethical transformation of our society seems to be the only option to save us.

Acceptance of New Religion

Known as a land of temples and monuments, India is going to witness postmodern religion, which includes all other beliefs that prevail there. When I was asked the question "Is your religion postmodernism or you're a postmodernist?" I had to pause for a moment to think that I still have not outgrown faith in my religion. But, I have changed the way of practicing my religion by ethical means. In this sense, I can be put in the category of people practicing modern religion. If we view this situation from the postmodern perspective, we can rightly understand Nietzsche's concept of "death of God". [32] As first cause or foundation, an origins – a transcendental ground to which all subsequent phenomenon must pay obeisance-resurrect the deity that the death of God" supposedly vanquished. [33] Nietzsche has been considered as an atheist. However, this is a doubtful interpretation because he was in fact, questioning what religion is in the present scenario. Nietzsche emphasized that there was no longer any ultimate foundational basis of things on which to base one's belief. Therefore, human beings have both the opportunity and responsibility for creating their own world. Though India has a long history of religious conflict and dispute within the self-growth as well as with the other countries, we can say that there is still a lot of room for improvement. Religion is not meant to give us the conflict and have a debate of what is the true religion.[34] This makes us clear that the understanding of religion also differs from one to another. Postmodernism accepts the fact that there is no absolute truth and we can see that postmodernism can work when it comes to bringing ethics in Indian religion. Ethics and religion do go hand in hand. Religion is not only meant for spiritual growth but it

[31] Enoch, David, Taking Morality Seriously: A Defense of Robust Realism, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[32] von der Luft, Eric (Apr–Jun 1984). "Sources of Nietzsche's "God is Dead!" and its Meaning for Heidegger". Journal of the History of Ideas (2): 263–276. See page 265.

[33] Paul Sheehan: Postmodernism and Philosophy, Cambridge University Press 20-42 (2004).

[34] "The Religious Crisis". Time. 1963-06-14. Retrieved 21 August 2007.

should also be used ethically for the growth of an individual and together of the society as a whole. Bringing out the religion of the future is a religion, which will cherish humanity and will work ethically.

Conclusion

The unity in the diversity of India indicates that people holding different views on life, religion, social, economic and political systems can establish a civilized nation by means of their perception and cultured behaviour. We are still on the verge of entering the realm of postmodern religion. It might take some time to enter this realm because we need to justify our own belief by sympathizing with its core denotation. Postmodernism recognizes that there are several means to attain the truth, but when it comes a time to recognize one's faith. Postmodernist argues that we bend nature through the lens of culture and language.[35] This leads them to reject the possibility of discovering the objective truth, as each culture approaches the different reality of its culture. To understand other cultures, we have to transcend our culture lens. However, according to postmodernists, this is impossible. In lieu of objective truth and what postmodernists call "metanarratives" (comprehensive world view), postmodernists point to "local narratives," or stories about reality that "work" for particular communities, but have no validity beyond the community. For postmodernists, truth claims are really mere propaganda intended to dismiss others views by calling them superstition or nonsense. Thus, from the perspective of postmodern culture, the person to be feared is the one who believes he or she knows the ultimate truth. We should accept all beliefs as equally valid. Though India is accepting the truth of the postmodern world it is coming to its senses. However, postmodernism speaks of inter-subjectivity and often assumes subjectivity as fixed. But there is no concept of expanding truths, not of being influenced by others, but of expanding our own framework of understanding to accommodate myriad subjective around us.

References

1. Ambedkar, Dr. B.R., "Annihilation of Caste", Volume 1, 1936, p.23-27
2. Ambedkar, Dr. Babasaheb, "Writings and Speeches", Vol 5, Mumbai: Government of Maharashtra, 1989.
3. Bauman, Zygmunt , "Postmodern Ethics", Paperback, (1993), p. 144.
4. Bernasconi, Robert, and Simon Critchley, "*Re-Reading Levinas"*, (eds.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.
5. Bose, N.K., "Tribal Life of India", New Delhi, National, Book Trust, India, (1973).

[35] A defining work detailing this position is Frederick Jameson, The Prison-House of Language (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972).

6. Cahoone, Lawrence E., "From Modern to Postmodern: An Anthology Expanded", (Blackwell Philosophy Anthologies), Paperback, 2003
7. Carson, D.A. "Christian Witness in an Age of Pluralism,"1993, p 1-19.
8. Chernus, Ira, "Fredric Jameson's Interpretation of Postmodernism", http://spot.colorado.edu/~chernus/NewspaperColumns/LongerEssays/Jameson Postmodernism.htm
9. Enoch, David, "*Taking Morality Seriously: A Defence of Robust Realism"*, Oxford University Press, (2011).
10. Evan, C. Stephen, "*God and Moral Obligation"*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, (2013).
11. Everett, Walter Goodnow, "The Relation of Ethics to Religion", *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Jul, 1900), pp. 479-493
12. Floistand, Guttorm, "Ethics or Moral Philosophy", Contemporary Philosophy: A New Survey, Volume 11, ISBN 978-94-007-6894-9, (2014).
13. Gellner, Ernest, "*Postmodernism, Reason and Religion",* London: Routledge, (1992).
14. Hare, John E., "*God and Morality, A Philosophical History"*, Oxford: Blackwell, (2006),
15. Jameson, Frederick, "*The Prison House of Language"* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.
16. Jameson, Fredric, "The Cultural Turn: Selected Writings on the Postmodern", (1983-1988), 93-97.
17. Jois, Justice M. Rama, "DHARMA: The Global Ethic", (1997), p. 4-6.
18. King, P. E, "Religion and Identity: The Role of Ideological, Social and Spiritual contexts, Applied Development Science", (2003), p. 199-200
19. Kumar, T. K. Suman, "India: Unity in Diversity", 1992
20. Luft, Eric Von De, "Sources of Nietzsche's "God is Dead!" and its Meaning for Heidegger", Journal of the History of Ideas Vol. 45, No. 2: (Apr–Jun 1984) p. 263–276. *p. 265.*
21. Lyotard, Jean-François, "The Postmodern Condition." (1979).
22. McGaughey, Doulas R., "Critical Idealism and Postmodernism", (2017)
23. Mugambi, Jesse N.K., and Lutz, David W., "Applied ethics in religion and culture: contextual and global challenges", Nairobi, Kenya: Action Publishers, 2012
24. Mukherjee, Asha, "Religion as a Separate Area of Study in India", Issues in Religion and Education, (2015), pp 83-103.
25. Neill, Stephen, "*A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707",* (2004).
26. Nietzsche, Friedrich, "Beyond Good and Evil", (1886), p 260
27. O'Flaherty, Wendy Doniger, "Hindu Myths", Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, (1975).
28. Paley, William, "*The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy"*, New York: Garland Pub, (1978), p. 24-35.
29. Rorty, Richard, "*Objectivity, Relativism, and Truth",* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (1991), p.13.

30. Rosenau, Pauline Marie, "Post-Modernism and Social Science Insights, Inroads and Intrusions, Princeton University Press, (1992).
31. Sammons, Martha C. *"A Better Country: The Worlds of Religious Fantasy and Science Fiction"*, Greenwood Press, ISBN 0-313-25746-9, (1988), p. 21
32. Sheehan, Paul, "Postmodernism and Philosophy", Cambridge University Press, (2004), p.20-42.
33. Shiner, Larry, "The Concept of Secularization in Empirical Research," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, (1967), p 207-220.
34. Tagore, Rabindranath, "Creative Unity", London: Macmillan, (1922).
35. Thiselton, Anthony C., "*Interpreting God and the Postmodern Self: On Meaning, Manipulation and Promise",* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans) (1995), p 130, http://digitalcommons.andrews.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2795&context=auss
36. V. Jayaram, "Hinduism and Religious Tolerance, http://www.hinduwebsite.com/hinduism/h_tolerance.asp
37. V. Jayrama, "Dharma the moral and religious Duties in Hinduism", http://www.hinduwebsite.com/hinduism/dharma.asp

In addition to his characteristics such as eating, drinking, sleeping and reproduction, man has also reason and spirituality. This accounts for his distinction from animals and plants in the nature. Reasoning enables human beings to question and discover his environment. Man's curiosity regarding the order and system in the nature reinforces his efforts to find out its creator. Various answers to the creator of the nature have established the basis of the concept "religion". Religion not only enables the individuals to discover the creator, but it also offers an insight regarding the meaning of life in the world. Therefore, it is not wrong to argue that religion has individual, social and cultural aspects. Hence, this book aims to elaborate on the concept of "religion" in relation to these aspects from a variety of scholarly perspectives.

The cover image: Monika Nowak

IRF Press
Fundacja "Interdisciplinary Research Foundation"
Al. Jerozolimskie, 85/21
02-001 Warsaw, Poland
www.irf-network.org
info@irf-network.org